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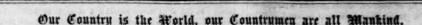
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. TERMS-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

Three copies will be sent to one address for rax OLLARS, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters re-

lating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent. Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvatia, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for The Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :—FRANCIS JACKBON, EDBUND QUINCY, EDWUND ACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1862.

lieutenants and two privates, and rushing forward surrounded the company of Germans who cut their way through, killing six of the negroes and wounding

T. PERRONET THO way through, killing six of the negroes and wounding several more. The main body, hearing the firing, advanced at a double-quick in time to recover their wounded, and drive the enemy back, but did not succeed in taking any prisoners. The wounded men testify positively that they were shot by negroes, and that not less than seven hundred were present, armed with muskets.

armed with muskets.

This is, indeed, a new feature in the war. We have heard of a regiment of negroes at Manassas, and another at Memphis, and still another at New Orleans, but did not believe it till it came so near home, and attacked our men. There is no mistake about it. The 20th German were actually attacked

and fired on and wounded by negroes.

It is time that this thing was understood, and if they fight us with negroes, why should not we fight them with negroes too? We have disbelieved these reports too long, and now let us fight the devil with free. The feeling is intense among the men. They want to know if they came here to fight negroes, and if they did, they would like to know it. The wounded men swear they will kill any negro they see, so excited are they at the dastardly act. It remains to be seen how long the Government will now heart they when they learn these facts. One of the hesitate, when they learn these facts. One of the Lieutenants was shot in the back part of the neck, and is not expected to live.

GENERAL THOMPSON ON SLAVERY.

but admiration of a writer does not necessarily imply concurrence in his views, and we differ much from the gallant General's sentiments in relation to the Federalists and slavery. He is disposed to view the conduct of the Northern States, in connection with the cruel bondage of 4,000,000 human beings in the Southern States, in a much more favorable.

Or personal rights by the summary judgment of a quarter deck. Had these well-attested precedents been in his mind, the gallant captain would not, even for a moment, have been seduced from his allegiance to those principles which constitute a part of our country's glory.

Mr. President, let the rebels are Two wicked light than we can bring ourselves to do. Justice and right are, we firmly believe, in this, as they are ately in every case, but other terms for sound.

Had the Northern States only made the extinction of the "domestic institution"-in other words, the emancipation of 4,000,000 sable bond-men in the Southern States—a part of their pro-gramme when they undertook the suppression of "the rebellion," they would have enlisted an amount of moral support, in the shape of sympathy in their favor, which, we feel assured,—with the accompaniment of the Divine blessing, which the have been every reason to expect,—would have in-sured the success of their enterprise long ago. But they repudiated the idea of the abolition of slavery anything to do with their controversy, or rather, their war with the South; and now they are righteously reaping the reward in the successful re-sistance of the Southern States, of their unrighteous

conduct.

So long as we clung to the conviction that the Northern States would make the annihilation of slavery in the Southern States part of their programme, we gave them all our sympathy, and all the aid as well, which it was in our power to render to them. But from the moment we saw that they regarded the "peculiar institution" as a thing too regarded the "peculiar institution" as a thing too sacred to be touched, we ceased to assist or even to sympathize with them. Nor can we understand how Gen. Thompson, whose anti-slavery principles and feelings are as strong as our own, can reconcile his ardent friendship for the Northern States, and his anxiety to see "the rebellion" put down, with his decided anti-slavery principles. We have said, that the gallant General is one of the most accomplished controversialists of the present day. We should like to see a specimen of his dialectical ingenuity in the endeavor to vindicate his consistency in this

So far as we are concerned, we hold, and ever have held, that slavery in every form, and under any conceivable class of circumstances, is an evil and a wrong. American slavery is the most enormous wrong, the most colossal iniquity on which the sun ever gazed; and we repeat now what we have deliberately said before,—that rather than American slavery should be indefinitely perpetuated, we should exultingly witness a thousand Unions perish.—London Morning Advertiser.

Yours, very sincerely, T. PERRONET THOMPSON. Eliot-vale, Blackheath, Dec. 27, 1861.

MR. SUMNER ON THE TRENT AFFAIR.

" The feature of Congress to-day," says the Wash-The leature of Congress to-day, says the washington correspondent of the New York World, "was the speech of Senator Sumner on the surrender of Slidell and Mason. The Senate galleries were crowded to repletion, while the floor was occupied by large numbers of notables, including the Austrian and French Ministers, and several representatives of the other legations. Lord Lyons was not present. After the conclusion of the speech, Mr. Summer was congratulated by M. Mercier, the French Minister, and several other diplomats." He fully sustains the action of the Government in giving up Mason and Slidell. The points he makes and decides are three: First, that the seizure of the men, without taking the him, was warmed because a party officer has no sight. ship, was wrong, because a navy officer has no right to substitute himself for a judicial tribunal; second, that the ship, even if taken, would not have been had the smp, even it caren, would not have been held liable on account of the rebel emissaries, inasmuch as neutral ships are free to carry all persons not apparently in the military or naval service of the enemy; and, third, that dispatches are not contraband of war. The speech is one of masterly ability, and concludes as follows:—

If I am correct in this review, then the conclusion and the beloved institution was likely to be damaged in spite of its champions, the mourners have began to go about the streets, lamenting the dire evil, and anxious to see it removed; but "the time had not yet come," and, oh! what unmingled sorrow would follow if we should press the matter now! only wait a little, and it would go down of its own weight.

The men who thus bewail immediate emancipation are not unknown to history. They have alton are not unknown to history are not unknown to history. They have alton are not unknown to history and in the witten and not with the defermance of the area of the rebel emissaries on board an entral ship cannot be justified according to the question of American slavery, but happearing in the guestion of American slavery, but happearing in the sizure to the best interests of humanity, glorifying the flag which made it.

We give in our paper of to-day two articles on the question of American slavery, but happearing in the sizure for the rebel emissaries on board and neutral ship cannot be justified according on board and then it would be proudly two the designation and then it would be proudly the analysis of the sizure for the best area of the sizure for the sizure for the best area of the s of years read and admired the writings of ceneral Thompson, could easily have detected his pen in the above article. For acuteness in controversy, and a quaint raciness of style, he has few, if any, rivals in the present day.

But admiration of a writer does not necessarily all the callant captain would not even in his views, and we differ much

> Mr. President, let the rebels go. Two wicked men, ungrateful of their country, are let loose with the brand of Cain upon their foreheads. Prison doors are opened; but principles are established which will help to free other men, and to open the gates of the sea. Never before in her active historias Great Britain ranged herself on this side. Such an event is an epoch. Novus sæclorum nascitur ordo To the liberties of the sea this Power is now conted. To a certain extent, this cause is now u her tutelary care. If the immunities of passengers, not in the military or naval service, as well as of sailors, are not directly recognized, they are at least implied; while the whole pretension of impressment, so long the pest of neutral commerce, and operating only through the lawless adjudication of a quarterdeck, is made absolutely impossible. freedom of the seas enlarged, not only the number of persons who are exposed to the penal-ties of war, but by driving from it the most offensive pretension that ever stalked upon its waves. To uch conclusion Great Britain is irrevocably pledged. Nor treaty nor bond was needed. It is sufficient that her late appeal can be vindicated only by a renunciation of early, long continued tyranny. Let her bear the rebels back. The consideration is am-ple; for the sea became free as this penitent Power crossed it, steering westward with the sun, on an

In this surrender, if such it may be called, our Government does not even "stoop to conquer." It simply lifts itself to the height of its own original principles. The early efforts of its best negotiators the patriot trials of its soldiers in an unequal war have at length prevailed, and Great Britain, usually so haughty, invites us to practise upon those principles which she has so strenuously opposed. There are victories of force. Here is a victory of truth. If Great Britain has gained the custody of two rebels, the United States have secured the triumph of their principles.

If this result be in conformity with our cherished

principles, it will be superfluous to add other considerations of policy; and yet I venture to suggest that estranged sympathies abroad may be secured again by an open adhesion to these principles, which already have the support of the Continental Governments of Europe, smarting for years under British pretensions on the sea. The powerful organs of public opinion on the Continent are with us. M. Hautefeuill, whose work on the laws of nations is the arsenal of arguments for neutrals, has entered into this debate

To the Editor of the London Morning Advertiser:

Sir,—The notice of my letter to my old constituents, in your paper of the 26th, gives me an opportunity of renewing a correspondence with yourself which in times past has made a subject of pleasant memory.

The fallacy I charge on some of the professing enemies of slavery is, that they deal with countries as if they were single individuals, and not compound bodies, in which all imaginable parties struggle, and each gets uppermost when it can.

Comparison will be the briefest illustration. Suppose that in the struggle in England to put down the Slave Trade, (at the moment, say, when Wilberforce had concluded his four hours' speech, and been put down by a majority,) foreign friends had gone about saying, "It is sheer hypocrisy for England to talk of wanting to put down the Slave Trade. It is clear it wants no such thing. There are hostile majorities

"Hay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where stavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the Parsident of the University of the University States, but the Commance of the Abbythas Power To Order The Universal Emancipal of the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, crivil, service, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Cungrass extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every war in which if can be institution of slavery, in every war in which if can be institution of

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

the inhabitants thereof."

of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, is every way in which it can be interperate wirth, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cession of States, burdoned with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACcording to the Laws of war, and sust calent it on, ac-cording to the Laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL FOWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-cipate all the slaves in the invaded 'arritory."—J. Q. Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1621.

Refuge of Oppression.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 3.

"A TREASONABLE MEMORIAL"

On our third page may be found a well considered nd carefully drawn Petition to Congress, signed by William Cullen Bryant, William Curtiss Noyes, and her highly respectable citizens of New York, asking that body to abolish slavery, under the war power, for the cogent reasons therein set forth. The hysterical, raight-jacket might prove serviceable :-

ates, should it ever come to a decisive question and their abettors have brought the war upon us, and they have exerted themselves to the best of the future Union of the States. An emancipa-nist, of course, is an enemy to the Constitution, noise, of course to the Union—since only by returning of a sacred regard for the Constitution, could any rational mind expect the restoration of the Union,

and this class of sentimental disorganizers a ar-are on the look-out to seek it—some from a maudin alanthropy, others for the want of something else do—and others still who see that with a restored nion their political schemes for personal promotion e at an end; for then those who have been active e purpose is to make the war the engine of comcipation. The Flint paper states we society in that place is considerable in num-We ourselves know the place to be a hot-bed of

This undoubtedly refers to the "Emancination League," a meeting to inaugurate a branch of which took place in this city a few weeks ago, and thich was so complete a failure, so far as any sympathy was manifested with it, except by the stereod list of old abolitionists. To the same purpose to outrageous memorial to Congress, printed, awn and signed by just the same set of men in ew York, so far as we recognize their names at all. ort Warren; and if they and such as they had been there in the beginning of our troubles, the

And what a ridiculously dishonest recital the me-orial shows!—to say nothing of its bad English, of which at least Mr. Bryant, who heads it, ought to be shamed; but when cant in morals gets possession f the man, cant in the use of language is its natuperverse way of making it manifest. It begins ending that it expresses the wishes of the peo-be United States. This throws aside altogethf the United States. This throws aside alto be people of fifteen of the States, because otoriously are in utter opposition to any such idea.

and we should infer that the object of the memorial was to present dissolution as practically effected, and that the people of the United States were the tizens of the free States only,—if emancipation cere not the plea urged,—that is, by force of arms, there is no other way,—to attempt the Quixotic erprise of setting the slaves free. And how? against the no less determined opposition of o-thirds of the North-against the adamantine obacle of the only possible means of effecting it— eat is, the army, led by men who will fight only for he Union and the Constitution, and against emancin and emancipationists, if to such a point it s, as it may. Can it be done by the breath of mes, as it may. Can it be done by the breath of engress? Acts for such a purpose would be treat-as they would deserve, with derision and conhyte By the order of the Administration? The overnment has taken a stand—and were there any

Government has taken a stand—and were there any doubt about it, it must take a stand—utterly in opposition to the request of this petition, directly, unqualifiedly, constitutionally, or it cannot itself stand.

This memorial declares that we have departed from the "sounding generalities" of the Declaration of Independence. They were departed from and therefore rejected by the settlement of the Constitution under which we have lived. It declares that this departure has been caused by our attachthat this departure has been caused by our attachment to the Union, and our conscientious fidelity to those with whom we have voluntarily made it. proposes, therefore, to break away from that attachment and to violate that fidelity, contrary to our pledges and our consciences. It falsely declares at this departure has given birth to a mighty power, which had in fact been born a hundred and fifty rears before,—and has consigned a class of persons to lavery, who had been in slavery a hundred and fifty rears before "the solemn and undying truth" beyears before "the solemn and unuying trothy, be-fore unknown was declared, and, consequently, be-fore our departure from it. It falsely declares that the power in question "for three-quarters of a cen-tary has disturbed the peace and harmony of the na-tion"—when it is notorious that no trouble whatever arose from it, until within a third part of that period, and then in resistance to the very men and their and then in resistance to the very men and their abetters who have signed this memorial. And the logic of the memorial is—that we are released, upon hese manifestly false statements, from every obligawe were so long by " an overshadowing attachment to the Union, and by conscientious fidelity to those with whom we had voluntarily united" for the pur-

Poses specified.

By breaking up and destroying the whole, we are, according to this impudent, seditious, and treasonable memorial, to "complete the work which the Revolution began"—which Revolution ended in establishing those principles, upon which the nation enjoyed unexampled happiness and prosperity, until Messrs.

Bryant, Goodell, Cheever, Sumner, Garrison, Greeley, Phillips and the rest began the nefarious work, which has loosened the fundations of the Republic which has loosened the foundations of the Republic, and through which it will sink to everlasting ruin, ir designs are brought to a speedy close.

Selections.

"WHEN WILL THE TIME COME?"

To the many urgent demands from every quarter of the North, that a proclamation should be made by the President, or an act passed by Congress, at once and forever freeing every slave in the rebel-lious States, the answer given by officials in and out of Congress is, "The time has not yet come." It is not at all contended that under no such circumstances would such an act be constitutional, or despended clief of the Boston Courier is thrown into ophobic editor of the Boston control in the arulsions at its appearance, and raves about it in the arulsions at its appearance, and raves about it in the can be found who do not say that slavery has received a shock from which it can never recover, that raight jacket might prove serviceable:—

Though we consider the whole emancipation ornaization utterly contemptible, as a practical thing,
that is to say, that they would be routed by the
ree of two-thirds at least of the people of the free stroy slavery to save the country. The only question is, whether the time has yet arrived when it is

the mischief to the cause of the country. They define abettors have brought the war upon us, define the have exerted themselves to the best of direct ability, since it began, to aggravate it, and to event any possibility of ending it. They are reved to destroy, if they can, the last vestige of hope the destroy, if they can, the last vestige of hope the destroy if they can, the last vestige of hope the destroy is the positive of the Revolution declared that slavery must be abolished on its world with the patient. ished, or it would ruin the nation, the reply was, Yes, it is an evil, but it is so interwoven into our social and commercial organism that we cannot at once remove it; the time has not come yet, but it will die out in time, by the natural course of events, ther now, or at any future time.

And yet here and elsewhere, as opportunity is found and this class of sentimental disorganizers is aland acknowledge it more candidly than do the slave-holders, who best know its mischief; but the time has not come yet. What would they do with all these ignorant, idle and helpless slaves let loose in their midst? What should we do to be overrun constantly at work. But in concert with sober views on this point, such as ought to regulate the opinions and action of every sober friend of his country, we see in the Chicago Times the following more damage to the wail of those who have opposed the movements of the anti-slavery party; and now, when the country is suffering from a war as purely the outgrowth of slavery as the oak is of the acorn, it again the slaves the attient, Michigan, makes a startling disclosure upon, it eclares, perfectly reliable authority, to the effect that secret political society has been organized in that the beloved institution was likely to be damaged in spite of its champions, the mourness have already been organized elsewhere, whose gife purpose is to make the war the engine of the sum of those who have opposed the movements of the anti-slavery party; and now, when the country is suffering from a war as purely the outgrowth of slavery as the oak is of the acorn, it again breaks forth with renewed earnestness. It is the last resort, now as heretofore. Whenever arguments and force have failed in our elections or in Congress, and the beloved institution was likely to be damaged in spite of its champions, the mourness have already been organized elsewhere, whose gife purpose is to make the war the engine of the evil, without doing more damage to the country and the slaves themselves than would be compensated by this emancipation." This has ever been the following more damage to the country and the slaves themselves than would be compensated by this emancipation." This has ever been the following more damage to the country in the same start where you please, you may oppress him as you please, the suffering from a war as purely the outgoing of his thought; bu

sure to wind up with the doleful lamentation, "they could see no way yet to get rid of it; it would not do to remove it now." Thus the Herald, the World, the Times, and a host of quasi-religious sheets, that were more anxious to get pay for what they did, than to do what was necessary and right, have im-posed upon the people, and actually sustained what they professed to be anxiously endeavoring to re-

And when, pray, may we expect that the time will come? It had not come when our Constitution was formed; it had not come when the anti-slavery party were pressing their arguments most vigorously; it had not come when Wilmot offered his proviso; nor when the Fugitive Slave Law was passed nor when John Brown went down to Virginia; no when the Territorial question was discussed; and even now, when the subtle fiend has well nigh crushed the nation in his huge fold, and is straining every muscle to accomplish his work, the time to break his back, to dissever his head, is not come. If the time has not now arrived, when, pray, in the judgment of these gentlemen, will it come? If when every natural and artificial bond is ruptured, when every compact is broken; when the slaveholders have sought foreign aid; despised our entreaties and de-fied our arms; and sought by years of well-directed efforts to enlist foreign interference against us and our republican institutions; if when in cold blood they have mysdesed our bestbeen and carried their they have murdered our brethren, and carried their heads on their bayonet points through the streets of their villages; if when all this is done, and all that is conceivable is done, by the slaveocracy, if now the time has not come when we shall be free, nay, required to strike the shackles from every be the strike the shacker from every ordinant in rebeldom, when will it be proper? What more can they do? Only one thing is left, viz., our complete extermination. Already have they made us poor, degraded us in the eyes of every nation, and blocked the wheel of every enterprise. With these men, the wheel of every enterprise. With these men, the time will never come to let the oppres-d go free, until, like Pharaoh, they can no longer endure the divine judgments which involve them in stupendous ruin. They have no aversion to doing wrong, so long as it pays. They have no real aversion to slavery; they rather love it as a condition gratifying to their love of power and lust. Who, judging from the past, could come to any other conclusion? If there is any such time, it will be when every influential man is in favor of emancipation, which will never be. Let no man listen to this deceitful cry, "Thou

Let no man listen to this deceitful cry, "Thou shalt not surely die." As there is a God in heaven, "in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." And now how sad must be the hour when the avenging angel drives us from our beautiful Eden, to walk amidst briers and thorns, and gain our living by the sweat of our face! O Herald, Times, and World, when will ye cease to prophesy smooth things, and cry peace and safety, when sudden destruction is at the door? To daub with untempered mortar, and heal the hurt of our people slightly? Alas! that we have such leaders, who, without the excuse of blindness, with open eyes lead the people into the ditch! To the American people we say, For eighty years you have followed this counsel, and where has it led you? Into the foulest war ever known. And where may it be expected to land where has it led you? Into the foulest war ever known. And where may it be expected to land you? In the most disastrous ruin ever known to history. What greater calamity could have resulted from the counsels of the lovers of justice and freedom? Had their voice of warning been regarded, we should long since have removed slavery without war. Were their counsels to prevail now, our war would terminate in a very few months, and the nation be saved. To many the day appears dark, and grows darker. It will never grow lighter until we recognize the fact that the time has come, the set time has fully come, to favor our land, and let the oppressed go free. It is now upon us. Glorious What the rebels may do with impunity to sustain

STATE

MORSES

CATTLE

Judge St. George Tucker, of Virginia, Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary, published a letter to a member of the Virginia Legis-lature, in 1801. In the course of it, he says:— "The love of freedom, sir, is an inborn sentiment.

At the first favorable moment, it springs forth and defies all check. Whenever we are involved in war, if our enemies hold out the lure of freedom, they will have in every negro a decided friend." In a debate in the Virginia Legislature, in the winter of 1831-2, Mr. Moore said :-

"I lay it down as a maxim not to be disputed, that our slaves are now, and ever will be, actuated by a desire for liberty. They will always be disposed to avail themselves of a favorable opportunity for asserting their natural rights. It may safely be assumed that wherever the slaves are as numerous as the whites, it will require one-half of the effective force of the whites to teach them said." of the whites to keep them quiet."

On the same occasion, Mr. McDowell (since Governor) of Virginia said:-

"Sir, you may place the slave where you please

reared in the midst of slavery, and had himself been a slaveholder, published a volume of Letters on Slavery, in which he thus states the result of his ob-

"The slaves-man, woman and child-are long-

William T. Allen, son of a Presbyterian clergy-man in Huntsville, Alabama, published a statement in 1839, in which he says:— "It is slavery itself, and not cruelties merely, that

makes slaves unhappy. Even those that are the most kindly treated are generally far from happy. The slaves in my father's family are almost as kindly treated as slaves can be, but they pant for liberty. The editor of the Maryville Intelligencer, Tenn., n a paper published October, 1835, says:— "We of the South are surrounded by a danger

class of beings. It is the consciousness that a ten-fold force would gather from the four corners of the United States, and slaughter them, that keeps them n subjection. To the non-slaveholding States we are debted for a permanent safeguard against insurrec-on. Without their assistance, the white population f the Southern States would be too weal that innate love of liberty which is ever ready to act itself out.

From the above statements, it is evident that ther is an immense latent force at the South ready to wel-come liberty. Which side, in this great struggle, will have practical wisdom enough to avail them-selves of this ineradicable human instinct?

ARMING OF SLAVES BY THE REBELS.

A certain class of politicians and presses have made a great ado about Mr. Cameron's policy of using the slaves of rebels to help put down the rebellion. They shut their eyes, however, to the absolute fact, that the rebels themselves arm slaves to fight against the Government. No paper in the country has so violently denounced the Secretary of War as the Louisville Lourgal, and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal, and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of War as the Louisville Lourgal and yet that page of the lourgal and yet the lourgal and yet that page of the lourgal and yet the lourgal and yet that page of the lourgal and yet the lourgal and yet that page of the lourgal and yet that page of the lourgal and yet the lourgal and yet that page of the lourgal and yet the lourgal and yet that yet the lourgal and yet the lo of War as the Louisville Journal, and yet that pa or war as the Louisvine Journal, and yet that pare publishes the fact of slaves being used by the rebels to man their guns without a word of dissent. A letter published in that paper, descriptive of the shelling of Camp Hoskins by the rebels, under Gen. Zollicoffer, which took place on the 3d of Deember, says:

"The enemy threw about one hundred shells, but not one of us was at all hurt. Most of their shells exploded before they reached us, their balls passing over and to the right and left of us. Gen. Schoepff would not allow us to reply, as we had not then received our rifled pieces. The silence with which we would not allow us to reply, as we had not then re-ceived our rifled pieces. The silence with which we received their first fire must have vexed them. We could distinctly see that Nos. 1, 2 and 3 at one of their guns were darkeys; wany other darkeys were seen through glasses among the chivalry. We only fired one shell from a little howitzer Col. Hoskins had in his camp, which killed or wounded an officer We saw him which killed or wounded an officer. We saw him fall from his horse, and four men carry him from the field."

Here is more testimony which cannot be dis

day! This is the Sabbatical year—the year of jubiles. Are our leaders so infatuated that they do not know it? Will weeping angels yet say, "0 that thou hadst known the things that belong to the permitted to do to crush it.—Norriston (Pa.) Olice Branch.

ATTACK ON OUR SOLDIERS BY ARMED NEGROES.

A member of the Indiana 20th Regiment, now enabled the slaveholders themselves answer this question. Let the slaveholders themselves answer this question. Let the slaveholders themselves given us, we can learn how much importance is to be attached to the 2nd New-York Germe campet her present bragging, when the combined promises and threats of 30,000 or 40,000 armed white men induce a few hundred wretched, unarmed slaves to fift on their side, generally, without doubt, with no prospect but that of being immediately shot if they advancing deployed to the right and left when within musket range, and unasked a body feven hundred negro infantry, all armed with muskets, who opened fire on our men, woulding two feven hundred negro infantry, all armed with muskets, who opened from onur men, woulding two feven hundred negro infantry, all armed with musket range, and unasked a body feven hundred negro infantry, all armed with muskets, who opened from onur men, woulding two feven whom the question will be adapted to the course of it, he says:—

The Componers the Royal Princes and the Bishops are against it. "Would it not be plain that foreign friends had made a great mistake, and we might justly say to them, "Call ye this backing up your fellows?"

Would it not be plain that foreign friends had made a great mistake, and we might justly say to them, "Call ye this backing up your fellows?"

Would it not be plain that foreign friends had made a great mental way and we might justly say to them, "Call ye this backing up your fellows?"

Would it not be plain that foreign friends had made a great mental way and we might justly say to them, "Call ye this backing up your fellows?"

Would it not be plain that foreign friends had made a great to all nations. This cannot be forgotten; and every proposition must be brought sincerely to this equita-ble test.

But there is a way in which privateering can be effectively abolished without any shock to the equality of nations. A simple proposition that private property shall enjoy the same immunity on the ocean which it now enjoys on land, will at one abolish privateering, and relieve the commerce of the ocean from its greatest perils, so that, like commerce on land, it shall be undisturbed except by illegal robbery and theft. Such a proposition will operate equally for the advantage of all nations. On this account and in the policy of peace, which our government has always cultivated, it has been already presented to foreign governments by the United States. You have not forgotten the important paper in which Mr. Marcy did this service, or the recent efin which Mr. Marcy did this service, or the recent efforts of Mr. Seward in the same direction.

In order to complete the efficacy of this proposition, and still further to banish belligerent pretensions, contraband of war should be abolished, so that all ships may freely navigate the ocean without being exposed to any question as to the character of persons or things on board. The Right of Search, which, on the occurrence of war becomes an omnipresent ty-ranny, subjecting every neutral ship to the arbitrary invasion of every belligerent cruser, would then disappear. It would drop as the chains drop from an emancipated slave; or rather it would only exist an emancipated slave; or rather it would only exist as an occasional agent, under solemn treaties, in the war waged by civilization against the slave trade; and then it would be proudly recognized as an honorable surrender to the best interests of humanity, glorifying the flag which made it.

With the consummation of these reforms in maritime law, not forgetting blockades under international law, war would be despoiled of its most vexatious prerogatives, while innocent neutrals would be exempt from its torments. The statutes of the sea.

fore it sought to secure a similar independence for the sea. It had hardly made a constitution for its own government before it sought to establish a constitution similar in spirit for the government of the sea. If it did not prevail at once, it was because it could not overcome the unyielding opposition of Great Britain. And now the time is come when this champion of belligerent rights "has checked his hand and chang-ed his pride." Welcome to this new alliance! Meanwhile, amidst all present excitements, amidst all present trials, it only remains for us to uphold the constant policy of the republic, and to stand fast on the ancient ways.

A NOBLE SPEECH.

Rev. Newman Hall made a noble speech in favor of peace before 3000 working-men in Surry Hall, London, on the 9th. He concluded as follows:—

Once more, working-men, I beseech you, do what you can to allay the unreasonable, unchristian war spirit that now prevails. Ponder on what I have said, and, in opposition to much that you hear and read, let my arguments, if you deem them valid, perread, let my arguments, if you deem them valid, persuade you to do your utmost for the preservation of peace. I am not one of those who condemn war under all circumstances; but I consider in this case war would be most wicked. I am not one of those who advocate peace at any price; but I do earnestly plead for peace now, and I ask you all to help. Let each do what he can to roll back the tide of angry passion. Of hy all the untidd horcers of angry war: do what he can to roll back the tide of angry pas-sion. O! by all the untold horrors of angry war; by the tenfold terribleness of a war between brothers; by the sufferings of a negro race, who look on with alarm lest you should join their oppressors to rivet their chains; by the aspirations of the long down-trodden people of Hungary and Italy, whose enemies will exult if the great champions of freedom contend with each other, instead of making common cause against tyranny; by the interests of the world, which will look on achast to see its civilizers and evangelwill look on aghast to see its civilizers and evangel will look on aghast to see its civilizers and evangetists engaged in mortal combat, instead of prosecuting, in holy rivalry, enterprises of benevolence; by the principles of Christianity; by the example of Jesus; by the law of God—I beseech you cast in your influence on the side of peace, and loudly proclaim, "We will have no war with America." [Loud and repeated applaces] ed applause.]

On the same subject, the London Star says :-

"The blatant outcry for immediate submission or instant war is meeting with a check which those who raised it did not reckon upon. The clear com-mon-sense of the English people, who desire nothing more than that right should be done, is not to be more than that right should be done, is not to be misled by any amount of rhetorical artifice and halt-ing casuistry. It is proof, too, against those wicked appeals to pride and hatred so industriously made in order to raise a clamor which it was hoped might drive the Government into a war with the Federal

Union.

Although the general opinion remains steady in condemning the conduct of Capt. Wilkes as contrary to international law, and an aggression on the rights of nations, every day multiplies proofs that it is not considered as sufficient cause of war, or at any rate that it is a proper case to which to endeavor to apply the principle of arbitration, as proposed by Lord Clarendon at the Paris Congress, and solemnly adopted by that body.

War with America could not be carried on for

adopted by that body.

War with America could not be carried on for three months without causing sharp distress and provoking loud discontent in every poor man's home. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and every cottage cupboard. It would be a war smiting with bunger, and perhaps with death, thousands utterly powerless over the causes of quarrel, but not so powerless to avenge themselves on its promoters."

About the silliest and least excusable, the most graceless and baseless of the popular falsehoods persistently kept afloat, because they are supposed to promote the interest of the utterers, runs thus: "The British aristocracy fomented the Abolition excitement in this country in order to distract us and break up the Union: now that they have effected their first purpose, they side with the slaveholding rebels, in order to complete our national ruin." The simple fact that the British aristocracy never did favor Abolition disposes of the whole fabrication. There are liberal aristocrats, just as there are white negroes; but the Aristocracy, as a class, never busied themselves in any way with American slavery. Even the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies—in which Mr. Calhoun affected to discern a plot for our overthrow—was wholly impelled by the plot for our overthrow—was wholly impelled by the Commons—it was suggested, struggled for, and carried by the arguments, contributions, entreaties, votes, of the great middle class, and preëminently by the Dissenters, who were in good part hostile to slavery far in advance of even a respectable handful of the Aristocracy. The Government was finally constrained to yield to these democratic influences which, under the newly reformed Parliament, it was not tinder the newly reformed rariament, it was not strong enough to defy and persistently defeat: hence the act of himancipation which has reflected so much unfading glory on the British name. The smallest share of credit for that noble act—the credit of cea-

ing to resist it when resistance could no longer avail—is all that is due to the Aristocracy.

George Thompson was one of the early apostles of abolition among us, and was libelled, defamed, and mobbed in consequence. Though always of the most advanced Liberal school of British politicians, he was roundly abused when among us as a tool of the Aristocracy—which was about as sensible as to style Lloyd Garrison or Wendell Phillips an emissary of

Mr. Thompson recently gave a lecture on the American struggle at Leeds, England, wherein he evinced more knowledge of the subject than any British speaker or writer of the time— a knowledge that is explained by his intimate personal acquaint-ance with this country. He evinces throughout the most entire and ardent sympathy with the Nation in its grapple with the Rebellion: but this is not all: his views and statements are characterized by great caution and moderation. Witness the following ex-tract from his lecture:

[The extract printed by the Tribune is the first of the passages quoted from Mr. Thompson's speech on our third page.]

This surely is not the language of a fanatic, of a narrow-minded bigot, but of a sensible, moderate, considerate statesma. And such has been the spirit evinced by the great body of British abolition-ists and advanced Liberals. They have spoken word for us when all other voices a good word for us when all other voices were blended in one common howl of hostility and aver-sion: they have declared our cause that of Humanity and Civilization when Ministers and leading jour-nalists conspired to betray the public mind with irrelevant statements and the interposition of false and misleading issues. Whatever the future may have in store for us, we shall remember the British abolionists as the firmest and most considerate of the European defenders of our National cause.-N. Y.

The speech of George Thompson, Esq. (a ame dear to American abolitionists), which occupies a large portion of the first page, entitles that eloquent champion of liberty to the gratitude of every one who has at heart the preservation of free government on this continent. If he were not the ni generous of men—if the love of a great and no If he were not the most cause did not lift him above all personal vindictive-ness, surely we might expect now to hear his voice prominent in the roar of that tide of British disparent of the North which comes swelling across No other Englishman was ever ligned by the American press; no other could find in his personal experience such plausible excuses for taking sides against us in this crisis of our country's fate. But, forgetful of the insults heaped upon him by Americans in former years,—the slanders of the s, the fierce howlings of the mobs which put his press, the herce nowings of the new to vindicate the American cause before the people of Great Britain. His thorough knowledge of all the peculiar features. of the American government, his familiarity with all the causes of the Southern rebellion and with every iliarity with all step in the Anti-Slavery movement, and above all, his thorough devotion to Republican institutions, qualify him in a preeminent degree to explain to his countrymen all the mysteries of the deadly contest between slavery and freedom in this country. contest between slavery and freedom in this country. Such speeches as that which we this week print can to exert a powerful influence in Great Britain, and it will be a shame if the American press not prompt to recognize their value and to do justice to their eloquent author.—National A. S. Standard.

DR. BROWNSON ON LOYAL HARMONY.

In a recent review of an article by Archbishop earnest remarks :-Whatever tends to keep the North divided, and

loyal States from entering into the to prevent the loyal States from entering into the contest with the hearty sympathy and co-operation of their whole population, is really and undeniably aid and comfort given to the enemy, and is therefore, under the Constitution of the United States, virtually, if not formally, treason.

Party divisions, and especially party rivalries and ities, are now mistimed and mischievous. The weaken the friends of the Union, and strengthen the hands of the rebels. We know, and can afford to know, until the rebellion is crushed out, no party dins, and no division but that between lovalists and rebels. Hushed should be all party strife between loyal men, and even the usual odium theologicum should be suppressed. All loyal men—Protestants or Catholics, Democrats or Abolitionists, wheth to stand by our common country, and defend it, if need be, even to the last gasp, are our party, are our friends, our brothers, and we give them our our friends, our brothers, and we give them hand and our heart. If there are difference tween us to be settled, we will adjourn them till we have put down the rebellion, saved the Union, and made it sure that we have a country, homes, firesides that we may enjoy in peace and safety; and when that is done, perhaps it will be found that most of those differences have settled themselves, or at least, wherein personal or political, not worth re-viving. We must be united, and not like the maddened Jews when their chief city was beleaguered by the Roman cohorts, and Roman battering-rams were beating down the walls of their citadel, divided into factions, and wasting, in spilling each other's blood, the strength needed to save our national existence from destruction.

This is no time for an Archbishop or any other man to make war on Abolitionists, and to crack stale jokes about an 'Abolition Brigade,' and the valor or want of valor of its suggested Brigadier. Such things are untimely and mischievous. The very existence of the nation is threatened, and threatened, not by Abolitionists or their sympathizers, but by the slaveholding aristocracy of the South, and ir dupes, tools, aiders, and abetters, in the loval States—men who have no Abolition sympathies, but as strong antipathy to all Abolitionists as John Ran-dolph of Roanoke had to sheep, which made him say that he would at any time go a mile out of his way to give one a kick. The danger that threatens us is not on the side of the Abolitionists, but on the side of the friends and supporters of slavery, and very ordinary wisdom would counsel us, if we are true men. to face the danger where it is -not where it is There is no use in trying to gain credit with the loyal with the disloyal South by vituperating Abolitic and denouncing as Abolitionists all who would not indeed overstep the Constitution to abolish slavery but would abolish slavery as a means of saving the Constitution. No man can now be suffered to say Good Lord and Good Devil. He must choose either the Lord's side or the Devil's side, and take the

consequence of success or failure. Under which king, Bezonian? Speak or die!"

We see by our English papers that Rev. J. Sella Martin, the well-known colored minister of this city, is making a very agreeable impression abroad. He has lectured in several towns, including old Boston, on the subject of the American war, with much acceptance. In London, a soirée was given in his honor by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P., which was attended by many distinguished persons. A recommendatory note was read from Rev. Dr. Kirk of this city, and a "brilliant oration," it is stated, was delivered by Mr. Martin, in advocacy of the cause of our Government.—Boston Journal.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1862.

ANNUAL MEETING

Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Massa-CHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in Boston, at Allston Hall, (corner of Tremont and Bromfield Streets,) on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Jan 23d and 24th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. Three sessions will be held each day.

Though a great change, equally surprising and cheering, has taken place in public sentiment at the North, on the subject of slavery, since the "SLAVE-HOLDERS' REBELLION" broke out, yet the times demand of the uncompromising friends of freedom all the vigilance, earnestness, activity and generous cooperation, that it is in their power to give; for upon them devolves the task of creating, deepening and guiding that moral sentiment which is to determine the fate of the republic. Their work, as Abolitionists, will not be consummated while a slaveholder is tolerated on the American soil, or a slave clanks his fetters beneath the American flag. Theirs is the truest patriotism, the purest morality, the noblest philanthropy, the broadest humanity. So far from having any affinity with, or bearing any likeness to the traitors of the South, there is an impassable gulf between the parties, as well as an irrepressible conflict. Now that, by the treasonable course of the South, the Government, by the exigencies in which it is placed, may constitutionally abolish slavery, and is solemnly bound to improve the opportunity under the war power, the duty of the hour is to bring every influence to bear upon it, to induce it to exercise that power without delay, and thus to speedily crush the rebellion, and establish liberty and peace in every section of the country. In this work of humanity and righteousness, of reconciliation and union, it is oblig-

atory upon all cordially to participate. Among the speakers expected are Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Parker Pillsbury, Samuel May, Jr., Rev. Wm. R. Alger, Henry C. Wright, Rev. J. M. Manning, Rev. A. A. Miner, Hon. N. H. Whiting, F. B. Sanborn, J. S. Rock, Esq., Giles B. Stebbins, and others.

At the opening session, Thursday morning, Wendell Phillips, Rev. Wm. R. Alger, and others, will speak. An early and full attendance is earnestly requested- At the evening session, ten cents admission will be charged to defray expenses.

By order of the Managers of the Society, ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec'y.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Ladies who have for so many years received favor of their company, as usual at this time of the

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 22d. IN MUSIC HALL, BOSTON.

and of the ladies at their respective homes. L. Maria Child. Mary Willey, Mary May. Sarah P. Remond, Louisa Loring, Mary E. Steam s, Henrietta Sargent, Sarah Russell May, Sarah J. Nowell, Helen Eliza Garrison Elizabeth Von Arnim. Anna Shaw Greene, Anne Langdon Alger, Sarah Blake Shaw, Eliza Apthorp, Caroline C. Thayer, Sarah Cowing, Abby Kelley Foster, Sarah H. Southwick. Mary Elizabeth Sargent. Ludia D. Parker. Sarah C. Atkinson, Augusta G. King, Abby Francis, Mattie Griffith, Mary Jane Parkman, Mary Jackson, Evelina A. Smith Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson, Elizabeth Gay, Abby F. Manley, Katherine Earle Farnum.

country towns, with whom we have been so long in was, without anybody's fault. Mason and Slidell on correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake | board a British gunboat instead of in a Massachusetts of the Cause, at this moment of deep and anxious inter- fort! Listen! and the three columns of Mr. Secest,-when the unstinted contributions of our Northern retary Micawber, ever waiting for "something to turn people to defeat the wicked and rebellious designs of Slavery make it difficult to raise money in large The Apology Cabinet! sums .- to take up collections in their respective neighborhoods, using all diligence to make the amount of time of our most devoted effort; and abundant opportunities are afforded us for reaching the consciences gree never before known. It is hoped that no town, which has ever manifested an interest in the cause of tion ;-at all events, to receive their subscriptions by

of attendants at the entrance.

If in any case a donation or subscription can will be included in the list of acknowledgments, if sent as soon afterwards as circumstances permit.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

We trust that all those who believe we ought to 'remember those in bonds as bound with them," will bear in mind our Reception at the Music Hall, Jan. 22d, and will give us aid, either in person, by proxy, or by letter.

One party is talking of subjugating slaveholders, and another of compromising with slaveholders; but who, except the "old Abolitionists," fully recognizes the rights of the slave, and our duty towards him, as our brother, in the sight of God? While politicians look at emancipation only as a "necessity of war," and seem to consider colored men and women as so many horses or mules, to be disposed of as may best suit their convenience, it is evident that a great moral work still needs to be done, before this guilty nation can be imbued with principles of justice and feelings of humanity towards those whom they have so long oppressed. Help us to do this righteous work, we

In behalf of the Committee of Anti-Slavery Ladies,

Cameron himself. The Hunker papers rejoice in the nomination of Mr. Stanton. Instead of "drifting" on the banner of the Union that motto which would towards an Emancipation policy, the President seems have checkmated every Emperor and Cabinet of Ento be actively working against that policy. The army rope, by an appeal to the sympathies and conscience authorities, too, seem to be far less anxious that the of the people, and thus barred them from daring to rebels shall run than that the slaves shall not.

THE TIMES. A LECTURE

Delivered in the Fraternity Course, at Tremont Temple, Boston, Tuesday Evening. Jan. 7th,

> WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY J. W. W. YERRINTON.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN We have been told that this is the closing lecture this course, -a course, the marked ability and earnest ness of which must have done much to educate the public mind. Fourteen months ago, in November, I had the honor to open the one which preceded this I believe I then expressed the almost unanimous feeling of the Northern States when I welcon Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States with the sincerest confidence and good-will. Nine months ago, in April, at the Music Hall, I enjoyed the satisfaction—rare to me—of speaking in the name of the majority of New England, when I said Amen and God-speed to the purpose of the Cabinet in lifting the guage of battle which the South had thrown down to us at Sumter. Nine months have passed since-nine long, weary, eventful months. record have they borne to the history of these United States? The people, with a patriotism and readiness. with an energy and enthusiasm, which find hardly parallel in history, have placed at the command of their Government everything: money without stint; armies that almost equal the fabulous levies of Asia. We have levelled every barrier of civil right; we have annihilated every mark of constitutionar inverty; and over the broad, unfenced surface of the Empire, the Cabinet has wielded the sceptre of despotic power. Twenty millions of people have raised a hundred millions of doliars, and their credit has hardly oscillated on the exchange. We have mills that could almost recloth our army every three months; prodigal harvests; armories full of workmen, crowded with weapons; and yet, to-day, ten months since the inauguration of the Cabinet, these rich, active, well-furnished, twenty millions of people, stand checkmated, having gained no one advantage worthy of note, their capital besieged by ten millions of enemies, whose credit could not command a dollar on any exchange of the world; who have neither a granary to feed nor mills to clothe their army; and whose rare statesman ship, whose singular, unmatched ability holds an unwilling people and a fettered race quiet while threatened by such a foe. Ten months, of which the his tory is hardly anything but disaster and disgrace ! Ten months-its first epoch marked by the flag that never feared a foe lowered to an insurrection, then contemptible, at Sumter; its second epoch by a flight which gave us the jeers of the world for a comment; and the third, by the stars and stripes trailed in too ready, humiliating submission to the threats of the mother land. Ten months, such as the world never saw, of the willingness of millions to pour out treasure and blood! Public opinion has stood behind the Cabinet with the heartiest enthusiasm and support. the subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the From every section, from the pulpit and from literature, every voice has been God-speed and auxiliary. From the press came that most remarkable of all utterances, perhaps the most eloquent that the exigency has called out-" The Rejected Stone," from the pen As it is quite impossible for us to send invitations to of a native Virginian, published in this city by Walker all, even in this vicinity, who hate slavery, and who & Wise, and analyzing, illustrating, exhausting the desire to aid in its entire abolition, and, if possible, by question, with a home knowledge, with an earnestness, moral and peaceful means, we would say to all the which no other expression has reached. The pulpit friends of justice and freedom, that they may obtain has done its work with remarkable fidelity. From special invitations (without which no person is admit- Maine to the Mississippi, from the humblest local pulted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, pit to the broadest metropolitan see, from the comonest utterances to the largest religious press, the voice has all been in support of the Government. And I may say, in passing, that nothing shows more emphatically how much the unfaithfulness of the pulpit for thirty years has forfeited its natural influence on the intellect of the people, than the very little influence which this unanimous utterance, in such a critical hour, has had upon the policy and the hearts of the people. Ten months-nothing is its record We have not yet turned the first flank of the foe. More than that, the Cabinet has neither made nor met a question. I call it the Apology Cabinet. It is the only. Cabinet in the history of the nation whose whole record is a series of apologies. Sumter !- why did it fall? In long columns, with elaborate excuse, with minute detail, the Cabinet will tell you why. Norfolk slave trade and bondage, she announced her purpose most ingenious and persistent, ours and the South, Navy Yard and Harper's Ferry !-- why were they lost? Listen! and if you will listen long enough, the Cabinet will elaborately explain how. Manassas! a disgraceful defeat-why? If you will be patient, sit down and stay a week, the Cabinet will convince The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in you how necessary and inevitable and beneficial it

up," will explain to you exactly why. (Laughter.) Understand me. I mean to find no excessive faul with the Administration. They are in due course of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the times being educated; but, unfortunately, it takes too long. may occasion in the larger ones. Now should be the Every hour is big with the fate of the Union, and meantime, the scholars at Washington have not got beyond the first form. If we had an American for and hearts of the people with a power and to a de- President, and not a Kentuckian, we might have had the satisfaction of knowing, that in the effort to save Kentucky, we had not lost the Union-in the vain effreedom, will be unrepresented now; and that no in- fort to save Kentucky, we had not lost the Union. I dividual whose heart is in unison with ours on this have addressed many audiences in the different cities subject will be found wanting to our list. We hope to during the last ten months. We have all waited welcome as many as possible at the evening Recep. with matchless patience for the action of this body of men to whom the helm of State has been entrusted. They have raised an army such as the world never The Germania Band has been engaged, and saw. England, with her thousand years of history, their beautiful music will add to the attractions of the with her flag given to the battle and the breeze for so many centuries, by forced impressment and pinched Each invitation must be inscribed with the levies, cannot put one man in ten in the field, to what name of the guest, as last year, before presenting at the patriotism of these Northern States has furnished the door. Cloaks and shawls may be left in the care the Government. So much the Cabinet has done. It waits for the people to do more. For one, with no in tention of disrespect, with no bitterness of criticism, not be forwarded in season for the Anniversary, it I must say, these ten months have exhausted my patience with the Cabinet at Washington. (Applause.) I place no further reliance on them. I do not assume to divide the guilt of these ten months of inactionwhether to the Administration or the people. History will settle that. History will assign the rightful measure of responsibility to the masses and to their leaders. All I have to say, here and now, is, that in my opinion, if History shall find that the heedless in capacity of leading men, that the mousing and ill. timed ambition of the Administration, that the fact that we had a man for President who could not open his eyes any wider than to take in Kentucky, and statesmen for the Administration who could see nothing at present but their chances for the Presidency,if History shall find the verdict that this caused out national disasters and humiliation, posterity will henceforth divide the curses that have usually been monopolized by Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold. The treason which attempts the surrender of West Point is attended with less bitter results than that the 1st of January, 1860. The only property which sore that consumes the body politic. The North sends heedless incapacity, than that ill-timed ambition, which obliges a nation to such humiliation, and brings us into our present jeopardy. Everybody agrees, that this last month, we could do nothing else than surrender the Commissioners to Great Britain. Blondin on his tight rope is in no condition to resent an Gen. Simon Cameron on Monday resigned the insult; neither is this nation in a condition to hazard Department of War, and Hon. Edwin M. Stanton was a war with Great Britain. There could nothing else, mptly nominated to fill his place. Much specula- nothing better be done, than to surrender the Comtion exists as to the cause of this resignation. The missioners, in our present condition. But who brought New York Times represents that it was Mr. Lincoln's us to this condition? Who wasted the enthusiasm of act, and that no one was more surprised at it than Mr. last summer ! Who kept half a million of men idle

my share of the humiliation of these last twenty days wife-"covert" by Gen. McClellan. The Cabinet- The Administration was forced into its position by the the tools of conquest, the means of saying to the despotism of Europe, "Thus far, and no farther," for the past six months, have wasted both time and meansday where we are.

Ladies and gentlemen, I for one, therefore, expect

they are concerned, the game is up; the Union is days he means to give us a victory so decisive, so imsevered; the men who were murdered at Baltimoretheir lives are half wasted. We have poured out two mil- Grant it! If he does so, he saves the Union. (Aplion a day, and we have purchased nothing but disgrace, plause.) If he does so, he puts France and England except this sublime uprising, which shows the omnipotence of self-government, and whose whole merit belongs to the people. If there is no resort elsewhere, if there is no appeal to any other part of

rendered and the Court may adjourn. have been associated. I say it with all seriousness; stitution and buy the Mississippi. Peace, trade, the and for the next three months, there is no American interests of the West,-I know the gain. I recognize who can afford to be anything but serious. Men and the temptation, which bowed the ambition of Webster their faults, their ambitions, their successes, their virto that scheme of Texan annexation which was polititues, sink to nothingness before the majesty of the cal suicide. It was to complete, to make harmonious, issue. In the next three months, I more than half to make impregnable, the Union. I recognize all these expect disunion; two confederacies; a North subjulinterests. Within sixty days from to-day, if we have on trial here. It was a mistake. Democracy has plause.) But, Mr. President, it is a momentous ga has echoed the sentiment, that it was a grave ques- ble success, no other chances evoked in October? preciation of the responsibilities of self-government succeed? With a hundred thousand men at Washingby the influence of slavery, as to make it impossible ton, who have been looking in the faces of a hundred

cause we did not see how broadly it ministered to France and England stand on their side ?

the real and most perfect freedom of the black Union or two; and there is a vast meaning in those race, provided it could be an honest Union: The two Unions. There was a time when I think-I may bought by submission to slavery. It was a Union there was a time when we might have divided; when, that meant slavery in the Carolinas, and gags in if the North had withdrawn, or the South, it might New York. It was a Union that meant Massachuwhich no man dared to follow out the logical infer- for two generations, two Unions mean no tariff, two ences from right and wrong, because he ran against a such Unions mean bankruptcy at Lowell, bankruptcy great national institution, in the presence of which, if at Lawrence; two Unions mean an almost total, a lic favor, he must be silent. It was a Union whose chanical interests of these nineteen States; two Unions fundamental conditions violated justice - a Union mean a frontier stretching from the Potomoc to the whose cement was the blood of the slave. It was such Gulf, and every ten miles a smuggler; two such Unions Union that we opposed; and when, in the spring of mean John Brown in every Northern village, and fear the last year, Slavery unfurled her banner against in every Southern Harper's Ferry that he attacks; two to take possession of Washington, and dictate terms carrying on a constant, bloody, bitter strife, until peron-mark von! n States never read to us the programme of secession. It strikes me that hazard is too great to lay upon the The first plan, threat, proposal, was to take possession power and the capacity of Gen. McClellan. If the of Washington,-to prevent the inauguration of Lin- Cabinet rests wholly on him, we have got something coln,-to demand the recognition of Europe as the to do to save this Union of ours. What right have Hall. It was a conspiracy to govern this belt of the States are entitled to a preponderance in the past? continent. It was a conspiracy to put at the head of No right but this-that we are the better-not that we he dld not leave his conscience and his brains in Ken- and her subject is barbarism. Why should we claim tucky when he removed to Illinois-when Mr. Lin- that our institutions have a right to govern this Union? North rose in arms to support that declaration, and shown it. On this seventh day of January, I take the from the Atlantic to the Mississippi rang out the de- liberty to say to a Boston audience, the South has ry, we, like our fellow-citizens, said "All hail to the more statesmanship than we have. With wonderful of a worthy challenge starts up ready for the bat- and gathered them from a reluctant people. She has tle. (Loud cheers.) The North, that men thought coined finances out of nothing, and bread out of stones, cankered with gold, bought and smothered with cot- she has made ten millions overmatch twenty. on, the North, that springs to arms for an idea, and A VOICE-I don't believe that doctrine, for one sends her message to every hovel in the Carolinas, MR. PHILLIPS-Well, my friend, facts are hard and for ten long months we have waited to see what so bought, had made Texas a part of the Union.

vital and sufficient for the hour. (Applause.) one single slave that walks upon its dust, the Govern. earnestness of ideas superior to the South. ment is not brave equigh to touch. The Govern- I know, ladies and gentlemen, this is unwelcon

people, and the people must carry it forward. We have three things to do. We must avoid war with on the heads of those men, who, having in their hands those of them who are not plotting for the Presidency of a Union that has so little chance to exist,-are wait ing for Mr. Secretary Micawber; the President is dumb; and there is no living man in the Government I care not why, but wasted them, until we stand to but General McClellan. He announces that within thirty days, be expects to crush this rebellion. Lying on a bed of sickness, to be raised by the providence of nothing from the Cabinet at Washington. So far as God into ordinary strength, he announces that in thirty mediate, that it will practically be an end of the war on their good behavior. (Applause.) But, mark you! mentous interests we served when we bought Florida, the Government, the cause is closed, the verdict is and rounded the nation to the Gulf. Large interests of peace, broad reasons of trade, strong considerations of Let me tell you why I think so. But before that, a well-fortified neighborhood-I know the strength of let me say a word personal to the party with which I that necessity which led Jefferson to override the Congated by events, smarting under defeat, bankrupt in success, immediate, decisive, unmixed, covering us statesmanship and character. Some of us have said— with glory from Port Royal to Memphis, from the I may have said-in times past, that Democracy was Potomac to New Orleans, the Union is safe. (Apnever been on trial. Except in our Northern State "On the nice hazard of one doubtful hour." as Hot-Governments, we have never had a Democracy in this spur says,-twenty million of people, who have spent country. We have had an attempt at a free govern- two million of dollars a day, and sent their sons by half ment, an attempt at free institutions, poisoned, tainted, conditioned on a toleration of the system of slavery.

millions to die by disease and the bullet,—"on the conditioned on a toleration of the system of slavery. The Abolitionists have said for thirty years, and ev- determination of such a question. Why should it ery thoughtful man on the other side of the water be so? Why were no other attempts, no probation whether the public and its leaders in the free Why are we crowded up to this great, last danger? States had not been so demoralized, so much weaken. What if we do not succeed, if we have but half-anded in their moral sense, so much dulled in their ap- half success? Does any man believe we shall wholly for us to survive any great crisis. The anti-slavery thousand on the other side of the Potomac for months, party of these free States have again and again aver- with a scattered army, which has never met a Southred their confident belief that the slavery question ern foe without finding him superior in numbers, is it was so radical that this Union could not endure it and absolutely certain; beyond all question, that we shall gain We have often said, that it was a singular and nothing but victory? Are you quite sure, are you ablancholy fact, that the monarchic institutions of solutely confident that nowhere in the broad circle, Great Britain, a ship of State burdened with millions hemming in, like the hunter's, Memphis, New Orleans, of debt, with vast evil institutions, with a Nobility and | East Tennessee, the Potomac, Port Royal, Mobile,an Established Church, was still able to endure for driving the foe in together,-is it absolutely certain fifty years, and outlive the storm of anti-slavery agita- that nowhere we are to meet a check? If we do, if tion; and as long ago as during the life-time of Dr. our success is mixed, if our victory is uncertain, if out Follen, it was the sad but confident belief of many of four battles we lose two, if we are driven back, if leading men in the anti-slavery party, that this Re- we stand on the 4th of March anywhere as we stand publican community had been so poisoned by sixty to-day, if we tide over to April, and have not crushed vears of compromise and submission, as to render out the insurrection, what thoughtful man doubts that such a result almost hopeless here. It bids fair to be Spain, France, England, who even now keep their rophecy sadly fulfilled. Before I pass on, however, fleets affoat in the Mexican Gulf, and at Halifax, in view of that summer upon which we soon shall with an army in Canada - who doubts that these enter, and which, I think, unless somebody more popowers will acknowledge the Confederacy? And tent than any yet in power bestirs himself, will see us Mr. Seward told Mr. Adams, in his private note, with two Confederacies, let me say one word about six weeks ago, that the recognition by either or all of that disunion sentiment which I have so long repre- these States would mean nothing but war with this Republic; and if the eight or nine States in rebellion We advocated disunion, we planned disunion, not, have kept us ten months at bay, does any man believe understand us, because we undervalued Union, be- that these States are sufficient to subjugate them when

peace, to commercial prosperity, to large material Ladies and Gentlemen, I say to you what I believe life, to the development of the noblest manhood, to to night-sixty days settle whether we are to have one Union against which we protested was a Union be mistaken, every man is liable to be, but I think with the right to say so much, and only so much, between them. But to-day, angered, at war, smarting South Carolina would permit. It was a Union in with mutual injuries, with hate that will not die out had any hopes of political advancement, or pub- very radical change of the manufacturing and me-The Gulf haps in thirty or fifty years natural laws kill slavery. United States of America,-to call the roll of their we, Mr. President, to claim the control of this Union? slaves on Bunker Hill,-to dictate peace in Faneuil What right have we to say that these our Northern the Union the guiding star of American slavery. are the stronger, that we are the better civilization. When that phase presented itself to the public, when What right has England to rule India? The right of Lincoln-the only act that will immortalize his conquest is too bare, without real basis. Her right name, the only act that gives the world evidence that is that her sceptre is civilization, thought, humanity, coln said, "The flag of Sumter shall never be low- The ground is that they create men-broader, strongered by an order signed with my name,"-when the er, better, nobler, higher men. Thus far, we have not flance to this Southern confederacy based on slave- shown the better right to succeed. She has shown North! sleeping, but not dead. The North-of skill, she has held eight millions of unwilling people which no man dreamed-who has been resting on quiet, four millions of slaves quiet, marshalled large her musket since Bunker Hill-but at the first sound armies, larger in proportion than any State ever raised,

that the pledge of '76 shall yet be a reality, and all things; I wish it was not true. She has subsidized men on the continent shall be as God created them, every press and every court in Europe. Whence free and equal." (Prolonged applause.) When that comes it? I am not, mark you! saying that her voice came from nineteen States, and twenty millions means are moral. I speak only of ability, efficiency. of people,-that the corner-stone of the Union should How does South Carolina subsidize the Times? In justice,-we dropped our prejudice against a the same way that she bought the North on the Texas Union big with such a purpose. Like all of you, we question. She spread Texas scrip over nineteet placed at the service of the country and the Cabinet States; worth nothing, paper, when she gave it away; any little item of influence that might be in our hands, worth seventy cents on a dollar when Northern votes, that Administration and that Cabinet would do. They has subsidized the literature and sources of opinion in have trailed the banner we gave them in the dust Europe in the same manner-with Confederate scrip, and blood of every possible humiliation. They have by the million-worth nothing to-day-worth a hunleft no bright spot on the history of 1861; no act of dred cents on a dollar, perhaps, for a while-long the Government at thought of which an American enough for shrewd men to realize-if the Thunderer must not put his hand upon his lips and his lips in of London and the Despot of Paris can make that the dust. If the nation lives, it is the untaught en- Confederacy a fact, instead of a myth. She, like a ergy of the people which has shown the world, that sagacious pilot, has weathered every storm until tooutside of Washington there is still a Democracy day, and deserves to succeed. She is true to her idea, Slavery. She makes everything bend to it. Our What is, as far as any man can learn it, the pur- idea is Liberty. Instead of proclaiming it, living by ose of the Government? As far as we can learn it it and for it, our Government is trying to tread on from any act, from any official source, it is to recon. eggs, without breaking them. (Laughter and applause.) struct his nation on the basis of '89. It is to put back Our Government dare not whisper the idea on which all the institutions of the country where they were on it rests. Hardly a political meeting dare speak of the the Administration will not touch is the pretended her armies into the field, and the only thing they have right to a slave. Charleston herself may be ruined; done for ten months is to catch negroes and find out we may stop up the harbor which God's own hand has owners for them. We have not yet vindicated our scooped, and blot out of existence a great city; but title to govern by the exhibition of a civilization and

ment stands to-day with no avowed purpose whatever, truth; but is there any other way to explain our posibut to put this nation where it was on the 4th of March, tion? Certainly, we have not conquered. The stars 1860. Every man with his eyes open, from Charles and stripes do not float over New Orleans. Richmond Summer downward, has said again and again, that is not beseiged, and Washington is. Beauregard car there was not strength enough in twenty States to ride a hundred miles in either direction, and General save slavery and the Union; and every voice from McClellan cannot. Explain for me the problem. Europe, of impartial judgment, echoes the sentiment. Twenty millions of people, with wealth that knows n In ten months the Cabinet has announced its choice of limit, and yet thus we stand to-day. Now, it seems to the alternative, and to-day stands pledged to save sla- me that our trial of Democracy-our mixed, half-There is but one will in this nation." way, conditional trial of Democracy,-has proved this, I look upon the Cabinet and the President as absorbed, that it does not breed leaders. This war was not beinsult the great and distracted Republic? I throw swallowed up, hidden, "covert," as the law calls a gun by statesmen; it has not been carried on by them.

England; we must avoid an insurrection of the slaves and we must write something on our banner, that will appeal to the people of Enrope against the Cabinets ow do you propose to check the palpable and unmis takable plan of Great Britain and France to acknowl edge the Southern Confederacy within four months McClellan proposes to check it by victory. God speed him! (Loud cheers.) He proposes to check it by enamping in Richmond. God speed him! (Renewed cheering.) He proposes to check it by putting the stars and stripes over New Orleans. I say, Amen! (Loud applause.) If he will only do it, there is noth ing more necessary; we have conquered, and there is an end; and although I shall regret, for one, that it was possible to reconstruct the Union of '89, I shall bow my head, and confess that he has done it. But I doubt his ability. I do not believe in the possibility of doing it within ninety days. It seems to me no same man, who has looked at the last ten months, can be lieve it. And if we do not succeed in that time, his death. By the first of April, that Southern Confed. eracy will be acknowledged. There is one exception ne other contingency. The slaves may rise. There may be an insurrection. These blacks, of whom the shall we do with them?" may rise up and say, "Wa have concluded to do something for ourselves!" it is possible. It would be the foulest blot on state. manship; it would indicate a deplorable defect in our civilization, to say of twenty millions of people, rich and well fed, armed to two thirds of a million, that they could not pilot the slave to safety, without his ourdering his master, and burning from New Orleans to the Potomac. It would be bankruptcy to national character; it would be a blot such as seventy more rears of successes would hardly erase. We must void that. For our character, still more for human ity's sake, we must prevent it. We must avoid was with England. It is useless to boast. We cannot now fight England. We cannot fight England when she speaks the sentiments of Christendom, and when she stands behind those twelve States in rebellion. She will not move until she moves with France, and Spain, and possibly the rest of Europe at her side; and you know, every one of you that thinks, that the Despot of Europe, naturally, constitutionally, inevitably, those of them that are not fit for a mad house - hate dread and envy this Republic. The Earl of Shailsbury, we are told, has said so in a public meeting is Great Britain. It is natural they should; we must take it for granted they do. I appeal to every man before me, familiar with English literature, familia with English politics for the last thirty years, whether it is not a foregone conclusion, that the Tory party of Great Britain, much more that of the Continent, dread and would seek every honorable means to destroy, this Republic. On the fourth of March, we shall have been one year at war; on the first of June, we shall have been fifteen months at war; and if Europe is able to say-" You have tried it and cannot suc you have done your utmost; you have neither states nanship nor armies worthy the name; this fratricida strife, this disgrace to civilization, this destruction the markets of the world, this starvation of the indu try of Europe, must cease "-why should she not say so? I tell you an open secret, when I tell you that many a member of Congress at Washington expects it? McClellan may be victorious. That is one was There is a better. Do you remember that Danie Webster said, "There is something sharper than bayonets, there is something stronger than thrones 'It is," he says, "that public opinion which follows which tells him that the world, though silent, is indig nant; which denounces against him the indignation an enlightened age: which turns to bitterness the cur of his rejoicing; which stings him with the conscio ness that he has outraged the opinion of mankind To that public opinion we can appeal. Let these nine teen States say to the world this-" We have struggle for ten months to treat this rebellion as an ordinary is surrection; to preserve untouched the social arrange ments of every State. We find ourselves unable. W recognize the central disease from which these trouble spring. We pronounce it a struggle betwist Freeder and Slavery, and the Government announces, after long and patient trial, that this is a war for Liberty that Union - when, laying a corner-stone of the such nations mean war all along the border - races the that only impartial Liberty can save the Union and hence of necessity, it proclaims that ever (Enthus lan put that upon his banner, so broad that it can b seen in London, and Earl Russell will write no mor haughty notes to Mr. Seward. We shall checkman any Cabinet in Great Britain. If my Lord Palmet ton will not carry out the designs of peace toward suc a North, my Lord Derby will succeed him; and the religious, anti-slavery, enlightened middle class which has not been heard from at present, which finds to voice in "Blackwood's Magazine," or in the "Ed burgh Review," will say to Earl Russell-"In the ame of Clarkson and Wilberforce, hold your tongue (Cheers.) These brothers of ours on the other si the Atlantic are engaged in a struggle which mean Magna Charta. In the name of John Milton, Hampden, and Wilberforce, our hearts go out to the God save the great Republic!" (Loud applause There is no other appeal possible for the people of this ntinent; and it seems to me that we have too muc at issue to trust it to the single expectation of militar victory. I am willing to wait as long as any man for the drill of Gen. McClellan. I am willing to wait at til he has made an army as perfect as that of the gre Napoleon. But I know an army already drilled every drop of their blood in earnest; covered by Go with black faces, so that you may know them at a di tance, and always to be trusted (applause); I know as army that are spies at every hearth-side of the South they will make every step safe while he walks to Net Orleans; and whether Manassas is a barrier on of side or Richmond on the other, he shall find between

> You may think I speak this merely as an Abolition ist. I allow, with perfect readiness, that my ch interest in politics springs from my sense of the ju tice which this country owes to the victim race. (A plause.) I want to see a Democracy educated to the level of the Roman boast, that it pulls down the pressor, and lifts up the oppressed. (Applause.) want to see a religion in the North that recognizes the responsibility of strength to protect weakness. I wan to see a sense of justice planted in the soul of e American citizen, so that of our mere motion we sha be willing and desirous of meteing out this justice ! the negro. But I confess that, to-night, I do n speak from that motive. I speak from a broade notive-as an American citizen, charged with the welfare of all races, white and black, foreign a native. (Applause.) I speak from what I though I had torn up by the roots - pride in the fist which floated over our fathers' heads. (Renewed ap plause.) I confess I shall feel humiliated if, thre nonths hence, at the bidding of hostile nations, th Union is severed in halves. I shall live, I hope, make my reckoning with the men who have betraye us the last six months, for during all that time, t Union might have been placed beyond the reach contingency. There was that in the enthusiasm, the strength of the people, which would have pla us beyond the contingency of expeditions to Sav o Port Royal, to Beaufort, and nobody knows when Why, the merchants of Boston would have taken th blockade of the Mexican Gulf, Charleston, Savannal and New Orleans, on contract, on the first day of July and finished it by the first day of October. (Laugh ter and applause.)

him and every Southern cannon a hundred thousand

at least of friends in the very territory he invades.

I know nothing that the Cabinet has done but hold the people back; and I confess that to my mind, there is infinitely more danger to-day in red tape than it despotism; infinitely more danger from the men wh think of nothing but routine, than those who are ready

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE

That the people may have an opportunity to examine the reasons presented in this crisis of our country's affairs

A COURSE OF SIX LECTURES

will be delivered, under the auspices of the Emancipation

Subject—" Abolition of Slavery."

Wednesday, Jan. 29, by M. D. CONWAY, a mative of Vir-

Subject..." Liberty, challenged by Slavery, has the right to choose the weapon. Liberty's true weapon is Free-

Subject-" The Black Man's Future in the Southern

Wednesday, Feb. 19th, (to be announced.)
Organist - JOHN S. WRIGHT.
Tickets, admixing a gentleman and lady to the course,
\$1, for sale by James M. Stone, 22 Bromfield street, and by

Doors open at 6 1-2 o'clock, and the Lectures will com-

TO OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY .- The next quar-

Hall, on Sunday, 19th inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M.

ly meeting of this Society will be held in Abington Town

Parker Pillsbury, Charles L. Remond and others will be

ever submitted to this generation. How shall it be met by

AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American

. S. Society, will speak at the following places in the State

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Sixth Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the

te of New York will be held in ALBANY, at Associ-

ATION HALL, on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, February

7th and 8th, commencing at 10 1-2 o'clock, A. M. Three

ssions will be held each day. [Particulars next week.]

TO CHARLES LENOX REMOND will speak at the

Twelfth Baptist Church in Southac Street, (Rev. Mr.

krimes's,) on Monday evening, Jan. 20. Subject: The

People of Color-Their Relation to the Country, and their

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slave-

Johnstown, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 19.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in the Unitarian

DIED - In Pembroke, Mass., Dec 28, of typhoid fever,

Moses Brown, youngest son of Samuel and Meria Brown,

Seldom doth the dark messenger fold his wings over one

of greater profise, one more universally beloved and la-mented. Gifted by nature with a mind of no ordinary ca-

acity, well-cultivated by a liberal education, (being a

urse, with a remarkably high-toned and conscientious

Tuesday, Jan. 21.

Thursday, " 23.

Saturday, Feb. F.

26.

" 30L

Sunday,

Tuesday,

Thursday,

the Abolitionists of the Old Colony? Let a mass meeting of

them at Abington be prepared to answer!

BOURNE SPOONER, President

Tuesday, Jan. 21, by ORESTES A. BROWNSON.

Wednerday, Feb. 5th, by FREDERIC DOUGLASS.

Wednesday, Feb. 12th, (to be announced.)

for emancipating the slaves,

States."

mence at 7 1-2 o'clock.

SAMUEL DYER, Sec'y.

Dover Plains,

Washington,

Clinton Bollow,

Pleasant Valley,

Salt Point,

Verbank, Washington Hollow,

Duties in the present Crisis.

aged 26 years.

ry Society, will speak on "The War," in

urch at Neponset, Sunday evening, Jan. 19.

17.

e it. But I me no sane the, can beat time, it is tern Confed. e exception, rise. There f whom the d say, "We res!" Yes, on states lefect in our people, rich million, that without his New Orleans y to national eventy more

We must for humanst avoid war cannot now nd when she ellion. She e, and Spain. the Despots inevitably rl of Shafts c meeting in d; we must o every man ure, familia ars, whether fory party of tinent, dread, destroy, this e shall have ne, we shall if Europe is

either stateshis fratricidat estruction of of the indusd she not say tell you that gton expects t is one way. that Daniel per than bay n thrones"?
which follows his ovation, lent, is indigndignation of rness the cup he consciou of mankind." et these nine ave struggled n ordinary in ocial arrange

unable. We

not succeed:

these troubles wixt Freedom unces, after a for Liberty, that every all be free! Let McClelhat it can be all checkmate Lord Palmere toward such m; and that hich finds no the " Edin ell-"In the your tongue! he other side which means

n Milton, of o out to them id applause.) people of this ave too much on of military any man for g to wait unt of the great ady drilled; oppression rered by God them at a dis-); I know an walks to New arrier on one

red thousand

an Abolition-

nat my chief

se of the jus

e invades.

n race. (Apicated to the down the op-Applause.) I ecognizes the ness. I want tion we shall is justice to ht, I do not m a broader ed with the foreign and at I thought in the flag Renewed ap-

ted if, three nations, this ave betrayed at time, this the reach of thusiasm, in have placed to Savannah, mows where. ve taken the n, Savannah, t day of July,

er. (Laugh-

y mind, there tape than in who are ready

to trust every power to the Government necessary for the salvation of the Union. My idea of Democracy is this: it must rest on educated masses. Undespotism, it cannot rest on anything else. That very element of Democratic institutions makes it safe to trust Government, in an emergency, with the gravest powers. France cannot trust them-she is a States of this Union! (Loud applause.) This week, wreck, as she stands to-day, when she does. Germacannot; Austria cannot; Italy cannot; England record. The seaboard dictates submission because of mercantile interests, and the country bows its head, hardly could; but we can. As John Adems said-"The reason why George Washington was not Cromwell was because we would not permit it." So, trday, you trust your Government with despotie ter-decks, any time, and take anybody therefrom. powers; and the reason why no man becomes a Na-Bear with me a moment, while I tell you why I oleon Bonaparte is because there are twenty million soleon Bonaparte is because there are wenty minimal to the surrender was unavoidable. In our present circumstances, to ask him why;—educated, self-cumstances, we could not fight England. Let them is now raging so fiercely on the other side the Atof men, Lanaces, sufficient, strong hearted men, who know their rights and mean to maintain them. And these twenty mil-

lead them the last ten months. Now, I make no complaint of Abraham Lincoln. No man can be broader than his cradle. (Laughter.) infortunately, he was born in Kentucky; and slavery had produced such a state of things in this nation that it was not possible to choose for President an unmixed to was not possible to Charles a loyal Northern man. That spirit of compromise which had been inoculated in our blood ever since '89, obliged us to choose such a man, and the result is, the history of the last months. I do not blame him that he is not Daniel Webster, an Oliver Cromwell, a George and sent the Commissioners to England. Washington, or any one else. Incapacity is no man's Washington, What I dread is, that a man in the wrong place | For one, I do not see that our surrender of these should baulk and defeat twenty million of people. Woe to such influence! He is in the hands of abler, deeper men than himself. Woe betide those who stand beside him, with some little title to the name of statesmen, if, years hence, one race shall rise up and

Richmond and Norfolk, those dumb friends of ours in

northern Arkansas, in the upper counties of Alabama,

at Macon, at Columbus, in every small town of the

enforce their will, and capable of finding it out, had

proclaimed that the success of the Union troops should

themselves known. Then, on the other hand, we say

to Europe, "Let four thousand miles of salt water

On a sound basis, I do not want the advice nor the

sympathy of Great Britain. On a sound basis, I have

Yankees, with a territory four times as large as France,

make no second rate power. If we can only survive

this war, we are safe. If Jefferson Davis is not able

to my hook as long as I wanted them, and then I

tossed them, half-dead, into the sea "-if we do not go

rupt in character, I have no fear for the future of the

nation. But there is a better hope, there is a nobler

Cabinet. We can at least ask Congress to do its duty.

We can at least ask of the Government that it shall

It is madness to trust so much to the vigor of one

It is too great a stake for a single card. I ex-

hort you, therefore, not as I usually have done, for the negro, but for the honor of the fathers,

let us show ourselves worthy of our blood. If no

other State speaks, make Massachusetts utter her

voice. We have always been the brain of the

has the greatest stake in this issue. Her million

out of our hands. Children of Hancock, of Adams,

of Jay, of the statesmen of '76, show that you value

wish him, to see its end.

that, by accepting it, she relinquishes any of her former pretensions. Earl Russell simply demands "certain individuals," forcibly taken from on board a Britfind that it has been baulked of its highest ambition ish ship, "pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage." nd the other of its dearest hope ! Now, that statement, and that only, binds the British But it is no longer Gen. McClellan and the Cabinet. Government. No matter what the Times has said— Ever since the 4th of December, we have had another what French journals or British speakers have said. tribunal. Congress is sitting. The representative of the public sentiment is in Washington. Men fresh despatch. Observe its language—"certain individuals." It is very significant, he no where even allows er to cope with this rebellion. As John Quincy Adams that they are Americans. They are "four persons, says-Government-the Senate and the House of "four gentlemen," "certain individuals." Now, sup-Representatives, to whom the Constitution gives the pose our Government, instead of running with such power to make war, have therefore inevitably, as a undignified haste to surrender, (the only business natter of course, an unlimited power to carry it on as they have not dawdled over for months since they they please. It is a power conferred by the Consti- came into office,) had replied-"Yes; certain india constitutional power, but not one limited by viduals were so taken; they are American citizens. the Constitution. It is a despotism. Every dollar, We took them as you have often taken British subevery musket, every right of the nation is in the hands | jects from the decks of our ships, merchant and naof Congress. The principle is, that when the ship is tional, pursuing lawful and innocent voyages, in time in danger, the captain may throw the cargo overboard of peace, without your having resort to any judge of to save the hull. So, to-day, in this storm and contribunal." It is by no means evident, non constat, as vulsion, Democracy vindicates its title to be a Gov- the lawyers say, from anything in Russell's despatch, ment. It would not otherwise be so. To the that his Government would not have admitted the hands of its great functionaries, it entrusts des- exception, the precedent, or at least submitted the potism for national safety. Recollect, liberty does question to arbitration. As Earl Russell's letter not mean universal suffrage. Louis Napoleon was stands, Great Britain has a right, clear and undisputchosen by universal suffrage. Liberty does not mean ed. to demand the surrender of individuals forcibly the ballot-box and primary schools. Liberty does taken from her ships. That is the general rule. The not mean the grog-shops of Boston at liberty to choose plaintiff always brings his action on general princiits Mayors. (Applause.) Liberty means institutions ples of law, and claims oll he can, leaving it to the anchored in the habits of the people, become a part defendant to plead the exceptions. To this rule of of their moral and intellectual nature, sufficient for Russell's there are several exceptions. England claims ny crisis that can come over a country. When the right to take her subjects at any time from any France, in her great revolutionary convulsion, met deck. All nations claim the right to take an enemy's the eye of Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking a throne, soldiers from neutral decks in war time. To bind there were no institutions to check him; only twen- England to any new principle, we should have rety-five millions of unorganized, uneducated, half-crazy | plied claiming the exception; and if she then still claimed the men, spite of her own practice, she must Frenchmen, and he put them under his right handcourse he could. But we are taught, from the very have been held to have renounced her pretensions. cradle up to the Presidency, every one of us, to be But she will, as the case stands, take a British sailor this year or next from a Boston brig, whenever she part of and preside over public meetings, initiate and work all the machinery of civil government—to oppose, not individuals, but well-planned institutions and despatch to forbid it. old habits, to all efforts of tyranny. We are a nation, ons of which guarantee liberty. Why, a ard on its merits, as well as that the nation knows it Yankee baby, six months old, is ready to manage a is only a pretext to serve a turn. It is absurd to say town-meeting. (Laughter.) He inherits it. If a that any nation is bound always to act on the side she ozen Yankees, or five hundred, find themselves on has usually chosen of disputed rules of international

Again, I except to the whole argument of Mr. Sewthe prairies, they extemporize a Constitution or a law. International law is common sense as recognized State. No other race could do it. The correlative by nations; it is natural justice as nations now underof that power is, that it is safe to trust government stand it, not as any one man or one nation fancies it. with the gravest despotism. Lancets, knives and Hence, while so considerable a maratime nation as surgeons' saws are terrible instruments-dangerous. Great Britain excepts to any rule of that law, the What is the use of surgeons? It is, that when you question is open, and any nation has the clear right to need lancets, somebody knows how to use them. Just act on either side she sees best at the time. Indeed, so with Democracy. It is a government that, when, the only way to make those governments which mainmorrow abolish slavery in every State by an au- where, at any time, is open. England keeps it so. that every loyal man shall be compensated for any being belligerent, England cannot urge that question; loss that he can show; and we cover two great dan- she so considers them. So of this talk of refugees, gers. If there is a Unionist at the South, who is not like Kossuth and Mazzini, under the British flag. a negro, we search him out. The magnet of compen- Everybody knows Mason was no refugee; he was the sation draws him to the surface; he shows himself; public agent of a strong government passing to his he finds his voice. Those men trembling to-day at post; in no sense whatever a refugee, and he would disdain the excuse. If we subjugate the South, Davis and his officers may become refugees, and then this question may come up; but not yet. So of their not South, if they knew that a people strong enough to being contraband because men are not contraband, or only soldiers are, certain decisions and treaties having so affirmed. This is all idle. International law is no be to them safety, would (if there be any such) make fantastic relic of feudalism or curious old machine, painfully adapted to new times, like some other laws. It is common sense, as national emergencies call it roll between you and us; we can manage this quarrel." into action. Now, why are soldiers contraband? Because they are tools of an enemy-helps to him. The same reason makes agents, ambassadors, contraband. no fear of her thousand frigates, or of her hundred A wily agent, passing from land to land, may do a thousand soldiers. On a sound basis, this nation is belligerent more harm than forty colonels or a equal to anything. The brains of nineteen millions of thousand men in arms. A blue or red coat, or metal buttons, do not make contraband. It is the hostile purpose and probable use of a person or thing. Let us not smother our sense with the dust of such trito say-" There are nineteen millions of people who fling. We are dealing with a code that knows no wanted to be accomplices with me in slaveholding, and I would not let them; there are nineteen millions of solete distinctions. This is the way Sir Wm. Scott, Tankees who were willing to sink the Declaration of who created so much international law to meet new Independence, provided only they could have cotton circumstances, did and would have looked at this case. enough to keep Lowell going, and I held them as fish No: England claims the right to take her subjects

from our decks while at peace with us, and does not condescend to tell us why she wants them. That out of this war bankrupt in statesmanship and bank- right she refused even to discuss with Webster, as late as 1842. That, therefore, the practice of a great naval power, is allowable, to-day, in international law. aim, there is a more glorious destiny for us in the We may therefore claim the use of such a rule, when ninety days that are coming. We can override this we need it, however much, on general principles, we may wish to see it changed. Jackson or either Adams would have said so, and might have put this Nota he is a man. I know, too, how various are the moshow Democracy equal to the struggle. To-day is the Bene at the bottom of such an answer-" Consult accepted time! To-day is the hour of our salvation! the record of the Chesapeake and Leopard, off Hampton Roads, June 22, 1807." All our disgrace hitherto der, therefore, that the Administration at Washington, was domestic. Our flag, lowered at Sumter, might held back by constitutional considerations, and better brain, to the uncertain fate of a single great battle. If you do, I fear that venerable man,* who still, in be atoned by its triumphant folds floating over Charles- informed than we can be respecting the real state of own city, the oldest of our statesman, lies on a bed ton; the flight at Manassas by McClellan encamped in public opinion, should pause ere by any act of theirs Richmond This last disgrace reverses our arms, and they proclaim the war one for the extinction of slaof sickness, who, a boy, saw the formation of the Union, hacks off our spurs in the temple of the world's knight. needs to live only a hundredth part of the years we hood. There is no cure for that humiliation but in has been effected. I rejoice to see the improved twenty millions of people using their brains to make tone of the public journals of the country. I rethemselves strong enough to prevent any nation on earth from repeating the insult. (Loud applause.) I wish to be a citizen of a great, strong, righteous State. (Renewed applause.) I wish to be a citizen of that country which our fathers won, acting on those "Let it not be forgotten, that this war on the part of -claborate ideas for her now. Massachusetts principles which they announced, and able to set the the North has been caused by a wide-spread and treaworld at defiance. (Cheers.) Hitherto we have done sonable combination for the overthrow of a National so. The next fifty years promised that neither Rus- Government-the division of an empire-the prostrasia nor Great Britain could stand up in our presence.

The contemptible root of bitterness, American bondage, has poisoned the future of this Republic, and your contented, subdued politicians are waiting for of men grow nothing, almost, on her barren acres and her granite; we have only cunning fingers. The customers of the South and West are our wealth. Our cousins across the Atlantic are this day cheating them the victory of a single General to save all that Hancock and Washington, all that Adams and Jay, all that the Revolution and the war of 1812 have handed

THE LIBERATOR.

this fortnight, has been sad enough. You know its ANOTHER SPEECH BY GEORGE THOMPSON.

mercantile interests, and the country bows its head, with ill-concealed grief, to the very power that for sixty years has claimed the right to stand on our quarson, Esq. It was very able, lucid, sensible, and eloquent. So crowded are our columns this week, that differ from the popular view of this question. I allow we can find room for only the following extracts:—

sufficient, strong hearted men, who know their rights and mean to maintain them. And these twenty millions of men would have put this Union beyond doubt, if they had had a man, not a Kentuckian, to doubt, if th help it, because we were not in a condition to resent the insult; not because international law, or any on the one side, for national existence—for the main-National pledge or course in times past, required it.

No President would have dared or dreamed of doing it from 1800 to 1860. Let us, fellow-citi-the Republic—for the supremacy of law—the punishzens, so bestir ourselves that no President will again ment of treason, and reintegration of the States: and be obliged to do it. So much for our reasons; and I on the other, for the establishment of an empire based think our wisest, most dignified way would have upon the absolute and perpetual degradation of one been frankly to have said so, in the face of the world, race for the benefit and exaltation of another race. The South is fighting for slavery and nothing else. The North is fighting for the Union, the Constitu-Now for the meaning and consequence of the act. tion, the honor of the national flag, the limitation, within certain bounds, of the institution of slavery, the reëstablishment of the authority of the Federai Govmen, in present circumstances, binds England to any principle of international law heretofore disputed, or ernment, and its own freedom from the domination of the Slave Power which has hitherto ruled the entire country. The North is in the right, the South is in the wrong. In the cause of the South are united all the elements of cruelty, despotism and irreligion, while in the cause of the North is bound up everything that is precious to man in connection with his freedom, progress, and future welfare. Looking upon the war as inevitable and irrepressible, looking to the ombatants engaged in it with reference to their ancedents, their character, and their objects; looking to the results which would follow from a victory by the South, and those which would crown the success of the North, I must say, 'God speed the North!' And this I must say without being the admirer, the friend, or the advocate of war. I hate war. I hold it to be unholy, and, to the followers of Christ, unlawful. I know and deplore the passions, excesses, cruelties and crimes of war; but if war there must be, and if success on the one side must be followed by the establishment of the reign of slavery, while success on the other will be the defeat of a vile confederacy of despots, and the deliverance of a race from bondage, I cannot but desire that the final issue may be that which will promote justice, and ensure the freedom of the oppressed. (Cheers.) . .

"Just before I came to this meeting. I glanced at the

ontents of a speech made by Lord Russell at New-

astle the night before last. His lordship expresses

his belief that the North will be unable to bring the South either to surrender or to submit. In this opinion I concur. That the North will, in the end, whatever may be their temporary reverses, prove the stronger party, I have no doubt. Should the North be determined to prolong the war, the resources of the South may be exhausted, and their country be overrun and occupied by the victorious troops of the North: but I do not believe that the South will at any stage of the war, surrender, or, when overcome, submit to the authority of the North. One event might greatly change the aspect of affairs. That event would be the entire abolition of slavery in the South. wants him; and I do not see anything in Russell's (Cheers.) This would necessitate the inauguration of a wholly new state of things, and deprive the rebels of the South of that for which they have gone to war, for which they are now fighting, and for which they will contend to the last. Why, then, it may be asked, does not Mr. Lincoln proclaim emancipation It is, of course, impossible for me to state Mr. Lincoln's reasons for not doing so, but I may conjecture some of those reasons. He may think that such an act would altogether transcend his constitutional powers. He may think that it would lose him the support he now receives from the slave States which are yet in the Union, but might be driven out of it by such a measure. He may think it would be an act of injustice to the Unionists within the seceded States. He for a moment, despotism is necessary, it can be safely exercised. As John Quiney Adams says, therefore, Congress has the power—let her use it. Let Congress to whether a government may arrest its citizens any shellsh slavery in over the state of the same of whether a government may arrest its citizens any war, would not sustain him in a measure of wholesale thority equal to the Constitution, which says there Practise it on her, as we rightfully may, till she surshall not be nobles in any State. Let her add to it renders it. So as to Mason and Slidell being or not have serious doubts both as regards the practicability and safety of that measure which, doubtless, many in the United States would rejoice to see him adopt. It is within my knowledge, however, that very many of the most sincere and uncompromising Abolitionists of the United States are of opinion that, though the war is not ostensibly and declaredly for the abolition of slavery, it is as practically and really an abolition war as if it had been officially declared to be one; while, at the same time, the war, in its progress, is more and more educating the people of the North into the conviction that the interests of the country, as well as the claims of humanity and justice, require the utter extirpation of slavery from the soil of their country. Moreover, they deem it probable that the exigencies of the war at some future stage will furnish some pretext to those who direct it on the part of the North, to abolish slavery in the exercise of that power which is always vested in those who have the chief military command. For myself, I do not look to official utterances so much to learn the views and policy of the Government, as to form a judgment respecting the influence of the popular sentiment upon the minds of the Government. For eight and twenty years, I have watched with anxiety the spread of anti-slavery opinions in the United States. My obto the time when John Quincy Adams stood alone upon the floor of Congress, as the advocate of the right of petition, and when Edward Everett, the Governor of Massachusetts, recommended to the Legislature of the State the passage of laws to prohibit freedom of speech and publication on the question of slavery. When I look at the present state of public opinion at the North, I am constrained to exclaim-What hath God wrought!' Yes, I know how few, comparatively, are Abolitionists from a genuine and thorough conviction of the sinfulness of slavery, and tives which lead hosts of men at the North, at the

disaster and the disgrace of '61; and if we can never again, I hope I may be privileged to meet you in the pled in the dust? Our common country, shall its inbring back those Commissioners, if we can never wipe out that stain on the flag of the Union, for Heaven's stripes covering only free men, and owning from Bossake, let us put ourselves in such a condition that no Lord Russell of Great Britain, no aristocrat of Europe, can dictate terms a second time to the nineteen plause.)

Though by the terms of the Liberator, payment for the control portions be surrendered, or shall its fairest and sunniest porti of America can only gain their ob. "t by the accomsubscribers, before proceeding (always, of course, with
plishment of ours. Union without savery, or entire
and perpetual separation, are the only alternatives.
Once I feared a compromise; now, I believe the day of compromise is past. The terocity, infatuation and madness of the South forbid it. The spirit, determination and awakened conscience of the North forbid to April 1, 1862, in cases of necessity. We trust no it. The circumstances and necessities of the war advantage will be taken of this extension on the part

country forbid it.

"I should like to say a few words respecting the real strength and numbers of that party at the South with which the North is at this moment contending. The South has always been ruled by a few thousands of wealthy slaveholders. Their slaves, which were themselves wealth, and the capital of the country, were the producers of that which brought to their owners additional riches, and enabled them to live in luxury and idleness, devoting themselves to pleasure, politics and war-war being the means of extending their slave territory. After their slaves who tilled the soil, overseers, merchants, brokers and agents did the rest. Education in the South has always been confined to the children of the wealthy. The rest of the Southern white population is poor, ignorant, vicious and degraded. The slavocracy of the South have been the gentry, landholders, knowledge-holders, office-holders, and rulers of the country. I have explained by what means they acquired, and, until the election of Mr. Lincoln, retained, the control of the affairs of the entire country, and secured all their sectional and selfish objects through their predominant influence, and always at the cost of the resources and reputation of the North. A portion of these men have succeeded in calling into existence the Southern Confederacy. They have staked every thing upon the issue of the conflict. I believe that, were it pos sible to arrive at a knowledge of the real sentiments of all the people at the South, it would be found that the majority desire the restoration of the Union, even though its restoration should involve the overthrow of slavery. Unhappily, however, the secessionist war party is the controlling party, and are able to suppress the true opinions of the rest of the people. The time will come, nevertheless, when the millions of poor whites, when the helpless women, when the free colored people, and when the slaves themselves, will be able to speak out. There is a body of men in the free States who have yet to be called into action. I refer to the hundreds of thousands of the colored population, multitudes of whom are fugitives from sla very. If the war should continue, they have an important part to play in this crisis, and will not be found wanting. Nay, they are even now ready and eager to assist in demolishing that system of oppression of which they have been the victims, and under which many of their dearest friends still groan. Recogniz ing the war in America as a fact, and having carefully studied the history of its causes, and its probable results, I must declare my conviction that it is likely to eventuate in the overthrow, at no distant day, of that institution which for more than seventy years has been the disgrace of the American republic. More, I do not deem it necessary to say. The white race will take care of themselves. Respecting the future welfare, prosperity and greatness of the North, I have no fears. My sympathies are with the enslaved, and my humble prayer is, that when the smoke of battle shall have passed away, when the sword of civil war shall have returned to its scabbard, and the heavens are once more clear, we may behold upon the continent of America four million of emancipated slaves, and a government whose Constitution shall prohibit all fuare traffic in the bodies and the souls of men."

FORM OF PETITION TO CONGRESS.

New York, December, 1861. W. C. Bryant, Wm. Curtiss Noyes, H. A. Hartt, M. D. J. W. Edmonds, James McKaye, Oliver Johnson, Wm. Goodell, J. E. Ambrose, Sam'l R. Davis, Nathan Brown, Mansfield French, Andrew W. Morgan, Edgar Ketcham, James Wiggins, Andrew Bowdoin, Geo. B. Cheever, D. D., John T. Wilson, J. R. W. Sloane, S. S. Jocelyn. Theodore Tilton, Dexter Fairbanks, Samuel Wilde. James Freeland, Alexander Wilder. Charles Gould, Wm. C. Russell.

PETITION.

To the President of the United States and to Congress : they recognize as lying at the very foundation of our that by nature all men are endowed with an unalienable right to liberty.

any course of events, the toleration of such departure has been caused by an overshadowing attach-

servation of the growth of those opinions goes back given birth to a mighty power in our midst-a power

hope elicited for the continuance of freedom, until slavery shall be wiped out of the land utterly and forever.

forbid it, and the future peace and welfare of the of those who have usually been prompt in complying with our terms

THE PATH OF SAFETY.

The time seems rapidly coming for decisjon of the great question whether this nation is to be saved or dashed in pieces. Saved it can be only by repentance and reform. Whether or not McClellan shall gain that promised group of decisive victories for which we have been so long waiting, unless slavery is utterly overthrown, and the rights of man constitution ally established in its place, there is no peace, quietness or prosperity in store for this country. It is preposterous and utterly impossible to suppose that either side will consent to such quietude. While a slaveholding power remains, it must seek to extend and fortify its tyranny. While a single friend of justice and freedom remains, he must exert himself in de-fence of justice and freedom, in opposition to the incessant invasions of a system of tyranny so thorough and so shameless. Until slavery is exterminated, our battle remains to be fought. Until the existing war is turned against slavery, no decisive progress is made towards the overthrow of the rebellion, or the reëstablishment of law and order. Until the Government shall begin a systematic assault upon that which is at once the weak point of the enemy and the cause and much lost time, every appropriation is treasure wasted, every life lost is lost by the fault of the Adminis tration, and every battle is a series of murders. And if this fatal neglect of duty is continued until the failure of the North to succeed causes the recognition and aid of the South by European nations, the whole situation will become still more complicated, and still more

If the Captain is deaf or heedless in time of extreme danger, the crew should repeat and emphasize their demand upon him to save the ship. It seems plain that Seward and Lincoln will go in the right direction only as they are driven. Let urgent calls be made upon Congress, therefore, by men and women in all parts of the country, to do that one thing which alone can save us-Emancipate every slave. Let such safeguards be added to the measure as Congress may deem necessary; but let this one thing be done without delay. It is our one thing needful .- c. K. w.

umns for months past must be our excuse for not having earlier noticed the excellent sermon of Rev. S. J. May, preached at Syracuse, N. Y., last Thanksgiving day. This notice must not be longer postponed by waiting till we have room for extended comments. His thanksgiving is uttered in view of the fact that the progress of slavery has been arrested, and that we have not been suffered to continue the quiet tolerance of so great an iniquity. The lesson which he enforces is, that we should use this occasion to destroy slavery altogether. Let all the people say, Amen!

The Post and Courier here, and the Journal of ommerce in New York, agree in frequently repeating the sentiment, that the overthrow of slavery would be as ruinous to the country as the triumph of the South-ern rebels. Not now, any more than in the time of Jesus, do we find grapes on thorns, or figs on thistles.

county, Maryland. By extra labor, economy and perseverance, continuing over a period of sixteen years, he bought his freedom for \$1300. He then went to work to secure the freedom of his wife and two children, for whom he was to pay \$1400. By his own labeing now free. He is now in this city endeavoring to secure the balance, in which we hope he will succeed. Ward has worked for the Hon. William H. Seward

among others since his freedom, who gave him the following letter:-

"I am satisfied that Mr. Levi Ward's statements are true, and that he is worthy of confidence and sympa-thy in his efforts to buy the freedom of his two chil-dren. WILLIAM H. SEWARD. Auburn, Aug. 29, 1860."

The above letter, the original of which we have seen, is endorsed by Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania. The people of the United States represent: That | Ward also has letters from other distinguished gentlemen, including some who have employed him. He is government, on which has been erected the fabric of a fine specimen of what is called down South "a smart our free institutions, the solemn and undying truth, negro," able to turn his hand to anything, from making a garden to havigating a vessel. He professes to be familiar with all the bays and creeks in Chesapeake That so far as this great truth has been in any Bay, having sailed over those waters for several years. respect departed from by any of our people, or by Those upon whom he calls cannot fail to be interested in his simple history.

ture has been caused by an overshadowing attachment to the Union, and by conscientious fidelity to those with whom we had voluntarily united in forming a great example of free government.

That such departure—whether willing or unwilling, whether excusable or censurable—has nevertheless given birth to a mighty power in our midst—a power which has consigned four millions of our people to slavery, and arrayed six millions in rebellion against the very existence of our government; which for three-quarters of a century has disturbed the peace and harmony of the nation, and which has now armed nearly half a million of people against that Union which has been hitherto so dear to the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

That by the very act of the Slave Power itself, we have, all of us, been released from every obligation to tolerate any longer its existence among us.

That we are admonished—and day by day the conviction is gathering strength among us—that no harmony can be restored to the nation, no peace broughback to the people, no perpetuity secured to our Union, no permanency established for our government, no hope elicited for the continuance of freedom, until sla-

very shall be wiped out of the land utterly and forever.

Therefore, we who now address you, as co-heirs with you in the great inheritance of freedom, and as free men of America, most earnestly urge upon the President and upon Congress.

Another Fight in Kentucky.—Prestonburg, Ky., January 11th. Caft. J. B. Fry, A. A. G.:—I left fointwille on Thursday noon with 1100 men, and drove in the enemies pickets two miles below Prestonburg. The men slept on their arms. At 4 o'clock burg. The men slept on their arms. At 4 o'clock yesterday morning we moved towards the main body of the enemy at the forks of Middle Creek, under command of Humphrey Marshall. The skirmishing the momentous struggle in which we are engaged, such measures may be adopted as will ensure emancipation to all the people throughout the whole land, and thus complete the work which the Revolution began.

Special Notice. Contributions of articles for the refreshment-table, at the Twenty-Eighth Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, should be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, until 2 o'clock, P. M., of Wednesday, the 22d; from that hour to 6, P. M., directly to the Music Hall.

your government, and have the sagacity to preserve it! Checkmate Europe; inspirit, give courage to your Cabinet; make your army's expense win something; let the year 1862, by its successes, blot out the a flon. Josiah Quincy, Sen.

Objects sought to be obtained by the South explain the objects which are sought by the North. The latter are contending for national existence. With the down to us. Let us demand of the Senate and House of Representatives that they conquer with a better of Representative to the control of the control of the expedition is represented by the North. The latter that the Revolution and th

League, in

TREMONT TEMPLE,

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

J. H. Stephenson, 53 Federal street, and at Tremont Tem-"Rule or Rain" has been long the Southern ery. Give us Slavery, or give us Death, is its last variation? How shall it be met by the North? is the most fearful question object of their hostile movements, every day is so of New York :-

The crowd of matters pressing upon our col-

graduate of Dartmouth College,) and frequent social interprinciple, and a kind heart going out in sympathy to the down-trodden and oppressed, these noble traits served to render him an object of peculiar interest, a star of un-

common brightness. Alas! it has gone down ere it had reached its meridian height, and fond hearts are left to after mature deliberation, the accompanying petition on the subject of "Emancipation," recommend it to the public for general adoption and circulation. Copies may be obtained from either of the subscriber. mourn his absence, though they would not call him back, for, through faith in his Redeemer, "death lost its sting, and the grave its victory," and another soul is safely an-chored in the haven of eternal rest—another redeemed one gathered early to our heavenly Father's fold. z. [Most deeply do we sympathize with the aged parents, devoted brothers and sisters in their afflictive bereavement in the death of the promising young man whose symmetry of character is so truly though briefly portrayed above. He had been a reader of the Liberator from earlibor, and by the contributions of the benevolent, he has already secured all but \$310—his wife and one child was-one to be esteemed and loved for his virtues, and admired for his talents.]-Y. In Rockport, Jan. 4, LILLIE, second daughter of L. B.

In Rockport, Jan. 4, Lillis, second daughter of and Eveline Pratt, aged 7 years.

"Farewell! if ever fondest prayer
For others' weal availed on high,
Mine will not all be lost in air,
But waft thy name beyond the sky.
'T were vain to speak, to weep, to sigh:
Oh! more than tears of blood can tell,
When wrung from guilt's expiring eye,
Is in that word—Farewell! Farewell!"

DEATH OF REV. J. W. LEWIS, HAYTI. By & letter in the Pine and Pulm, we learn of the death of Rev. John W. Lewis, at Hayti, on the 29th of August. He went to Hayti, it may be remembered, at the head of a company, some whom seemed to be earnest Christians, and who, llaving been members of different churches in this country, united emselves together, in church relations, just before starting for Hayti. Mr. Lewis was to be their pastor, and, it was expected, would perform other missionary labor there. He was much respected in Hayti, and his death is sincerely regretted by the government and people.

> IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing. "WITHOUT SMUTTING." MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to No. 31 WINTER STREET.

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair. Her itestorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Kestoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her enstoners to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER, Dec. 20. No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

The Life and Letters of CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN,

W Ho was Executed at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Slavery: with Notices of some of his Confederates. Edited by Richard D. Wess.—This very valuable and interesting work, which has met with a most favorable reception and ready sale in England, has been carefally prepared by one of the most intelligent and experienced friends of America in the old world. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, 221 Washington street, Room No. 6. Also in New York, at No. 5 Beckman street; and in Philadelphia, at No. 106 North Tenth street.

PRIVATE TUITION.

Thaving been deemed advisable to suspend, temporarily, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration of the present term, announcement is hereby made, that Mrs. A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principals, will be pleased to receive a few Young Ladies into her family for Instruction in the English, Branches, French, Drawing and Painting, and Masse. The term will commence on WEDNESDAY, Jan. 1, 1862, and continue Fifther WERES.

For particulars, please address

ABBIE B. HAYWOOD

Mogedale, Milford, Mass., Doc. 10, 1861.

"ON TO FREEDOM!" There has been a cry, "On to Richmond!" and still nother cry, "On to England!" Better than either is the ry, "On to Freedom!"—CH. ALES SUMMER.

On to Freedom! On to Freedom! Tis the everlasting cry
Of the floods that strive with Ocean, Of the storms that smite the sky; Of the atoms in the whirlwind, Of the seed beneath the ground, Of each living thing in Nature That is bound ! 'I was the cry that ied from Egypt, Through the desert wilds of Edom

Out of Darkness—Out of Bondage—
"On to Freedom!" O! thou stony-hearted Pharach. Vainly warrest thou with God Moveless, at the palace portals, Moses waits, with lifted rod ! O! thou poor barbarian, Xerxes, Vainly o'er the Pontic main Flingest thou, to curb its utterance

Scourge or chain! For the ery that led from Egypt, Over desert wilds of Edom, Speaks alike through Greek and Hebrew :
"On to Freedom! On to Freedom!"

In the Roman streets, from Gracchus, Hark ! I hear that cry outswell ; In the German woods, from Herrmann, And on Switzer hills, from Tell ! Un from Spartacus, the bondman, When his tyrants' yoke he clave ; And from stalwart Wat the Tyler.

Still the old, old cry of Egypt, Struggling out from wilds of Edom, Sounding down through all the ages : "On to Freedom! On to Freedom!

God's own mandate : "On to Freedom !" Gospel-cry of laboring Time ! Uttering still, through seers and heroes, Words of Hope and Faith sublime ! From our Sydneys, and our Hampdens, And our Washington, they come; Make them dumb ! Out of all the shames of Egypt, Out of Darkpess-out of Bondage-"On to Freedom! On to Freedom! A. J. H. DUGANNE.

New York, Dec. 25, 1861.

RESPONSE. Inscribed to the National Hymn Committee.

BY M. NORTON. A voice from the people comes sounding along, Give us, oh give us, a National Song! Words that shall thrill through the hearts of men, Music to breathe them o'er hill-top and glen ;-Spirit of Poesy, speed it along-Give us, oh give us, a National Song !"

What say the poets throughout the land ? List, the response to the People's demand : " Never-for ever-for ever-never," Answers the Muse for every endeavor. Never for ever while Slavery reigns, Never till broken for ever its chains, Never till righted this terrible wrong Call on the Muse for a National Song.

"Crush out Rebellion-erush out its cause, Give to the white and black similar laws Give to the bondman a right to his life. Give to the husband a right to his wife : Wait for the triumph of freedom-and then Call for a National Anthem again.

"Then o'er the dashing of ocean's shere, O'er the Northern lakes and the entaract's rear, And over the prairies and mountains grand, And the orange groves of a Southern land, And through the old forest, dark and dim, Shall sweep a worthy National Hymn ; And the song of the angels be heard again-Peace on earth, and good will to men."

SLAVERY OR DEATH.

Fools who have from Union fled— Fools whom pride has oft misled— Made for Slavery.

Now's the day, and now's the hour-See the walls of Pickens lower : Stay the spread of Freedom's power;

Ye who love the traitor knaves. Ye who sell your souls for slaves, Ye who sparn the patriots' graves, Fight for Slavery !

Who for human rights and law Freedom's sword shall dare to draw. Dare for Freedom stand or fa',

Make him turn and flee

By oppression's wees and pains, By the blood that fires your veins, Let them not be free.

By your altars and your fires, By the strength of your desires,

Heed not the graves of your sires ; Lay the bold reformer low : Freedom falls with every foe;

Slavery's in every blow, Liberty must die.

From the Boston Pilot. OLD WINTER.

A snow-plume of white on the wings of the breeze, A diamond mail on the bare coated trees, A whir of dead leaves as the wind whistles by, fresh gleam of light to the blue of the sky-Pile up the good fire, boys-ring cheer upon cheer, For jolly old Winter is King of the year ! Then cheer, let us cheer, boys-each blast that floats by

Is strength to the life-blood, and light to the eye; Before we had travelled life's pathway as now, When the sunshine of childhood was bright on each br The Queen of the Springtime might do for us then. But jolly old Winter's the monarch for men Hurrah, boys, hurrah! There's a life in his breath.

That would shake its grim spear from the white hand Death : The kiss of his lips bids the brave heart rejoice. And the pulse rushes free at the sound of his voice:-

See! over the grey hills the Autumn has flown. And Winter, King Winter, has mounted his throne No longer the Summer will woo us to rest,

With the birds in her hand, and the buds on her bre The wind of the North rushes down to the strife, And our spirits awake to the contest of life : Old Time has full many a chief at his call, But jolly old Winter is King of them all !

Then cheer once again, boys-and send, as it rings, throne of the great King of kings, That so we may live, as the seasons roll on, When the flowers of our Summer are withered and gone, We may smile with as hearty a gladness as now, When the snows of life's Winter are white on each brow South Quincy, December, 1861. MARIE.

THE RAINBOW.

God of the fair and open sky ! How gloriously above us springs . The tented dome of heavenly blue, Suspended on the rainbow's rings! Each brilliant star that sparkles through, Each gilded cloud that wanders free In evening's purple radiance, gives The beauty of its praise to thee !

The Liberator.

"THE SWORD IN ETHICS."

The state of war in which we now are, and in the maintenance of which the country is perfectly united-for most of the few who have been accus tomed to oppose war are now silent upon that subject. and the voice of the remainder is as a whisper amid the roar of Niagara—has brought out a large crop of sermons and essays in justification of the use of the These apologies for war of course vary very widely, both in positive sufficiency of argument fo the end proposed, and in candor towards the advocates of peace. Some, like Henry Ward Beecher, are content to rest their cause upon transparent sophisms, deliberately presenting the wolf and the tiger as valid precedents for the soldier, and symmetrically filling out their plea by misstatement of the position of peace-men; while others attempt a justification of the sword by serious appeal to philosophy and religion, with neither bitterness nor unfairness to those who think differently. The ablest production of this littler class that I have seen is an article in the Christian Ex-aminer for January, entitled—"The Sword in Ethics."

The closing sentence of this article is as follows :-"Man may lawfully use no other sword than that which pure Heaven puts into his hand; but the sword that Heaven gives, if he make it not sharp against those that deserve its edge, will become sharp against

Thoroughly agreeing in both parts of this state ment, and rejoicing in the rare opportunity of meeting so just and candid an opponent, I propose to give than utterly unsafe, for him to become a villain a fair and full abstract of the course of the Examiner's argument, and to give, as far as it can be done in such brief space, the reply made to it by Non-Resistance.

material world, and of the lower orders of the animal doors of opportunity, we tend more and more to stifle creation. He thinks it plain that Nature is no non-re- criminal wishes, and thus to help the growth of the sistant, since every one of her laws is a force that cuts | natural (though tardy) crop of good; while submission its own way, with never a "By your leave," nor the and forbearance to evil may so encourage tyranny as least offer to desist in case of objection made. Among to bear all the fruits, though they want all the the lower animals, the class, the genus, the species, of hate and injury. Confidently affirming this, he that lacks vigor to support and protect itself, ceases nevertheless willingly admits that Mercy will common from off the earth. Taking creatures by kinds, it is ly come bringing tender counsels; that love is oftenes the inexorable rule, that those which cannot make shown by long-suffering and meekness; that life is good a place for themselves shall have no place.

this, generally largely and openly, into its organization. yielding too much to the Bourbons, and we to the The question arises, Does nature desist from this slaveholders. portion of her plan on arrival at man? True, he has As to peace between nations, excellent and desir

But the above question, our author thinks, has a broader and more sufficient answer. Nature never scratching. For physical defence, man is weaponed For subtler encounters, he has the powers of the eve and the voice. These, then, are man's natural wea- itself on a tree. pons; body for the defence of body, and mind for the

defence of mind. Man, therefore, having a higher nature, has a higher but barbarous tyranny, and the submissions that flatorder of weapons than the brute. The question then ter and perpetuate it, are great crimes. And between arises, Why should he not trust to these alone for evils and crimes there is but one choice. protection? The answer, the writer thinks, is easy. In all defences, you necessarily use a weapon not only fit for you, as a man, to employ, but appropriate also native Right or Fight secures right, and saves from the to the foe or danger that threatens you. Powder and necessity of fighting. On this basis reposes the State, ball are the proper weapons against wolves; therefore with every civil means of adjustment and redress. man. The only question then is-Is ever a fellow- that secure men and women from n man one of those foes against whom the rifle may be naked contact with savage passions and brutish appre-

weapon against wolf is weapon against him. Is it de- against all assault. Hence the sacredness of law. clared, on the other hand, that men cannot properly which of right exposes the creature to odium and are in the same category with him in the fulness of reads, "We twoscore, or twoscore thousand, will up that fact which alone condemns him to death. It is the hold the law of reason and justice over such a terrihabits and purposes, not the anatomy, against which tory; it shall be binding on all within that limit; the sword is turned; it is base and bloody dispositions we pledge to good understandings and rational modes that justify the recriminations of battle. Wolf is wolf of adjustment our total and united force." to us only as he is a murderer of the flock; man is Without some arrangement like this, there must b man to us only as he is human, not inhuman.

To these general provisions (our author proceeds) cions as a permitted forgetfulness of violence, obnature has added the force of a special commandment. scenity and outrage? But observe that, if love and Nature's ordinances are instincts; and the instinct of reason will enlist terror in their service, they shall be the human race points undividedly to defence of your served of it; but if they refuse, terror will become own person and rights, and still more, and with added the soldier of confusion, and will scare away the sancdignity, to protection of those whom nature has left in titles and refinements it might have championed. some degree defenceless-babes and children, disabled Which is the better ? or a woman brutally assaulted feels the tides of force in the vindication of justice, else trodden under foot streaming towards his hands, and doubling their of the constant uses of possible (which must some strength; the bidding of the highest authority to in- times be actual) war, as terfere, and the power to interfere with efficacy, burn peace; and we counsel the final abolition of the Peace

irrational, wicked? To object to these instincts as "brutal" is a misuse of language. By a figure of speech, we call those ac- is to be met with fire-only the sword quelled by the tions or impulses of men brutal which are unnaturally sword-only the destroyer visited with destruction. base, fierce or obscene; but it will not do to assume Rightful war is always defensive, for ourselves or that whatsoever instincts man has in common with others. It is only the armed hand of injustice which brutes are bad; in other words, that a part of his na- justice with irresistible hand may smite. Secondly, ture is unnatural. All that brutes do is not, in the on- in all preparations against violence and crime, the aim probrious sense, brutal. The instinct of resistance in must be the prevention of ill deeds; their punishment man, as in the inferior animal, has just that dignity or open resistance being simply an infere which is afforded by the affections which support and upon failure of the primary aim. Thirdly, so far as surround it.

ble; that under no circumstances can it be touched seded they must be. Finally, forbearance is to without blame. Is this true ?

man life is inviolable," and therewith dismiss him rectitude, that is to say, of noble peace, by mild fidelity to physiological law : can human life be ame-ministries of time, and somewhat accepting as a burnable to this, and not amenable to the more sacred den to be borne. Let it wait, with brave wisdom; law of justice? Nature draws her line and says-" On yet, while staying its hand from blows, not withhold one side is life, and on the other death"; may not it from preparations. Always there are allowances to justice, speaking by the hearts and working by the be made; always there is a call for tolerance, endurhands of innocent men, in like manner draw her ance and forgiveness. Nevertheless, when impersuabounds, and utter her solemn warning, "Pass this sible wrong has stifled its conscience, gathered limit, and you pass forbearance"! If nature may force, taken death in its hands, and now comes to dethus commission a stone, she may thus, with yet more stroy forever your power of reasoning and bearing

reason, commission man.

The State and every social body is bound to indicate, sailant with the same weapon, and with the same vio and to indicate with emphasis, a more precious esti- lence, which he seeks to use against you. Never till mate of justice, freedom, and the honor and innocence then may you; but then, brave and true heart, you of man and woman than of mere physical life; and, MUST. failing flagrantly to do this, it is ere long weighed in the balances, and found wanting,

lemand that good shall be rendered for evil, and enmity met only with love.

But what is a doing evil ! To confront perfidy with peril, is that evil? To apply the great laws of retribution, is this a doing of evil? If so, the universe itself is chargeable with quiltiness; for it is the law of the universe that danger, danger to life and limb, danger to the top of menace, shall confront iniquity. Either, therefore, the universe is in fault, or the principle of making wrong-doing dangerous to the wrong-doer stands vindicated.

It is the crime itself, not the pains and penalties which oppose it, that is hurtful to the criminal. To do wrong is the worst that can befal any man; next worst it is, not to be directly punished for the wrong, having done it.

The highest service we can ever render a human

being is to breed and incite him to virtue; the next highest service is to dissuade him from purposed vice; but these being excluded, the only remaining service is to oppose with impassable barriers wicked will, to which reason and right are no barrier If, to withhold success from accursed purposes, you meet them with the most biting, inexorable edge of sistance, you still bless where you smite, and are in-

finitely kinder to the culprit than he to himself. To remove any of the perils necessary to hold in check incipient iniquity is cruelty instead of kindness. Th hope of impunity is the purse of crime, and one suc cess breeds a thousand attempts. We therefore betray and injure our brother when we make it safe, or less

To the objection that, since prevention of crim destroys not the intent, it cannot benefit him by whom the criminal intent is cherished, our author rejoin The writer begins by referring to the laws of the that the objection is not true; that, by walling up the precious, and not to be lightly taken; and that men Consequently, in the construction of any creature, err far more frequently by over-suddenness of wrath Nature has always in mind the thought of self-preser- than by excess of charitable forbearance. Yet the vation, commonly of direct self-defence, and works Italians and ourselves have erred otherwise; they

no ostensible natural weapon; but why? Because ble as it is, there are discriminations to be made. he is to command the use of all. Moreover, in this There is a living, and there is a dead peace; the one apparent deprivation there is a definite purpose, one obtaining where justice prevails, the other where it is that Nature has always very dearly at heart; that, disregarded and undesired. These stand to each namely, of compelling man to an exercise of his un other as yea and nay, as life and death, as heaven and derstanding. She makes self-preservation a mental hell. Not to distinguish between them is to elect the discipline, and will allow her best-beloved to be safe worse; while to choose the true peace is so to deny only as he is intelligent. One might as well argue and abhor the false, that war, with all its fearfulness against clothing from the nakedness of man's cuticle, shall be incomparably less fearful. War is worthy of as against his use of weapons from his want of fangs all good men's choice, in comparison with a peace of perfidy and corruption.

Peace is indeed precious when it means intelligen communion in justice. But if any one affirm that jusdoes abandon any leading idea. Accordingly, having tice is less precious than the outward circumstances of once found the idea of self-defence in her hands, we peace, he is a traitor not only to right, but to peace may be sure that it is never cast aside. With higher herself; since true peace follows after purity, and organizations, there are higher expressions of every only as it is worthy can be enduring. There is a dead leading thought; and therefore, on arriving at man, peace; but upon the heels of death treads decay, and we find that the provisions for defence partake of the its soldier, the worm. No allegiance therefore to general elevation, and are, for the most part, much peace can there be without due recognition of the fact removed from a beastly simplicity of biting and that war, whenever it takes place in needful vindication of justice, is honorable, noble, sacred, so far as the in part by the power and cunning of the hand, but far champions of justice are concerned. Therefore, a Peace more by that command of natural forces which the Society that respects outward peace only or chiefly is finer cunning of understanding confers upon him. the very Judas of the time, not only selling God's ju tice for a price, but in the end hanging its cause and

> For wars in and of themselves we have no word either of praise or extenuation. Wars are great evils;

Consider, further, the preventive function of war. Possible war is the gage of actual peace. The alterthe use of the rifle is not intrinsically unsuitable to a Legislature, jury, bench, the binding codes and rites petual liability to hensions, all rest, as their basis of security, upon no Our author answers his own question thus: When other foundation. A nation is a nation only as it is ever a man is a wolf, as too many men are, then religiously banded and bound to support a social order

Love and terror are the two powers which uphold be called wolves? Let us see! What is a wolf? or, civilization. Terror in the service of love holds the in other words, what is that fact in the wolf-nature world together. Terror serving love and guided by reason is our only safeguard from constant risk and deadly assault? Not the fact that he is a four-footed dread of hostility. Society begins there where two animal of the canine family; but simply that he is a men say, implicitly or otherwise, "We two will guarlawless depredator and destroyer. The wolf is shot, not antee each other's defence, and between us reason and as a beast, but as a beast of prey; and the men of prey right shall be for a law." And this pact, widened,

constant danger and constant fear. What is so pre

persons, weak minorities, and women. Moreover. We counsel, therefore, a frank acknowledgment of muscular resources are specially provided to meet the the dignity of the military calling, when worthily emdemands of this instinct. The man who sees a child braced; of the honorableness and sacredness of war along every artery, thrill down every sinew; and Society, except in so far as it seeks peace by the prowho shall gainsay them? Who shall gainsay, unless motion of justice. Let the sword be baptized, not he be prepared to show that Nature is superfluous, broken. Let charity, faith, intelligence, wield it; not wantonness and outrage.

Now comes the question of limits. First, only fire the use of these hindrances can be superseded by pos-It is, however, asserted that human life is inviola- itive attractions toward reason, right and good, superheld in perpetual honor. Love, having in vain done If a man swallow arsenic, does Nature say, "Hu- its utmost to cause continuance of public and private without consequences? Nature takes life in mere ducements, is yet to wait, trusting somewhat to the with it-then, when fruitful, noble waiting is no lon-Thus capital punishment is shown to be justifiable. ger possible—then may you, must you, strike the as-

The Examiner's article ends with the sentence which I have quoted at the commencement of this notice.

But perhaps the final intrenchment of the extreme Its author has chosen to sum up his argument for war, upholders of peace is found in the doctrine that evil in words which an opposer of war, yes, even a Non-must not be rendered for evil, or in the yet stronger Resistant, can thoroughly accept and adopt. Heartily and thoroughly agreeing in that final statement, and in very many of the previous statements of this able and candid writer, I shall attempt, in another article, to show wherein his main argument is unsound.

A THANKSGIVING SERMON.

To REV. LINES H. SHAW. Minister of the First Parish in Sudbury; Mass. :

A friend has sent me a copy of your Thanksgiv ing Sermon, upon which I propose to make some nents, not because I consider it particularly good, or bad. (though it has excellencies and defects,) but be cause I consider it a fair expression of the average ideas of the great body of ministers and people at the present time

You give (p. 4) as the position of the Abolitionist that "it (slavery) should be destroyed at once, by law, or by force, or by whatever way it may best be done; but that it be done entirely and immediately. You also say, that "no person who knows what an Abolitionist is, can name more than five or ten persons in all our free States who are persons of distinction and influence." I will not stop to criticise either of these propositions, though I think you greatly underrate their influence or that of the truths they inculcate

You say, p. 10, "If we would find the root and germ of our present war, we must go back to 1620, when the cargo of slaves landed at the mouth of James river, and also to the landing of the Puritans at Plymouth, two plants opposite in their name, opposite in their nature, opposite in all their fruits and consequences, planted in the same national field, growing, as it were, side by side." You say also, p. 11, in asking for the cause of the present state of things, that it is the natural and necessary growth of the two antagonistic principles; that it has taken this long period to grow and develop themselves, and reach to the "cause," the "germ," the "root," and necessary fruit. The whole controversy lies in the treat-

The few Abolitionists say, remove the cause, and the effects will cease. But all the other doctors. of whatever stripe, either of law or divinity, say, ouch not the cause. Among these you mention, p. 5, Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Franklin, Randolph and Clay, of former times, and say there are many now. You endorse this mode of treatment yourself. You refer us, p. 12, to 1787-'9, when our Constitution was formed by wise men. You say, p. 14, "This nat- IF THE SLAVES ONLY KNEW THEIR STRENGTH ural result of slavery could have been averted but in it." Had this been done, all our present war, and a soldiers to put down this rebellion. It would be devast proportion of our national troubles, would have been avoided; for slavery, in one way or another, has been the prolific source of most of these troubles." The italies are mine

nistic may be introduced or get into the system, which will produce a disease or a sore. It takes time to develop it; the part swells, and is inflamed, and causes irritation to the system. Physicians are called. Dr. Garrison says, expel the cause. It is now nearly to a head lance it take out the core it will then heal But all the other great and wise doctors, from Washington to Lincoln and Shaw, say no; let the cause remain: it will be painful to lance the sore and remove the core; just bring it back to its incipient stage, when there was comparatively but little in flammation and pain: counteract the laws of cause and effect so that it shall never come to a head. But, after all, you seem to have some forebodings that Dr Garrison's mode may yet be resorted to as a last resort, as a measure of necessity, not of right; you do not intimate that you would go so far.

You claim to be a religious teacher, a minister of the gospel, and yet you have given no intimation that in this whole tampering with slavery, from first to God, or any injustice to the slave, which should be repented of and forsaken.

shown, that the Constitution being the standard, the South has no cause of complaint. Page 9: "So far as the constitutional rights of the Southern States are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omit-

ted, of which they can complain." pit last summer. The minister, in order to set himself camp. and congregation right at the court of Heaven, told the Lord that "We are not to blame for this war for we have been ready to compromise and compromise with and the others white men in pursuit. Fast car the slave, but the whites steadily gained, and o the rebels." Another asked the Lord, "If consistent with His will, in his own time and way to put an end to slavery, which is the cause of all this trouble. When does the Lord wish men to repent? So far as your sermon shows, you do not wish either the Lord or man to do more than to keep slavery within

I have been an Abolitionist for nearly thirty years My first and great reason is, because eternal justice and My first and great reason is, because eternal justice and right towards the slave demand it. Second, the best the extra duties of the brigade. Each officer ennterest of the slave-owner demands it. I now have two additional reasons. It is the shortest if not the only way to put an end to the rebellion. It is the only way permanent peace can be secured. Without abolition, the two antagonistic forces will still be in operation, and like causes will produce like effects.

Yours, Anhuen N H BENJAMIN CHASE.

HOW JOHN BROWN SAVED THE CAPITAL.

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Journal tells the following singular story of the way in which John Brown's invasion of Virginia became the remote cause of the salvation of the federal capital:

When the marines dashed up to the door of the engine house, where Virginia chivalry quailed, they seized not only John Brown, but a quantity of powder, within the building, which he had brought from Pennsylvania. After Brown and his party were se-Pennsylvania. After Brown and his party were se-cured, the powder was placed in one of the buildings, where it remained till April last. When the United States troops found that Virginia forces were preparing to make a descent upon the ferry for the purpose of capturing the arms, they looked about for ammunition. They did not dare to visit the magazine, for there were sharp eyes which watched every movement, and an attempt to take powder from there would precipitate an attack. Then it was that John Brown's powder was valuable. It was in small packages, and where it could be taken and distributed unbeknown to any outsiders. It was placed in the different buildings, the trains were laid, and just as the Virginians thought the prize was theirs, they found that the flames were ahead of them. It was designed that the several thousand stand of arms there stored should be distributed in Baltimore, where, as you know, the outbreak immediately occurred, and that thence a descent would be made upon Washington. So John Brown's powder saved the capital. All of this will appear, I am informed, with satisfactory evidence, in the report of the com-mittee appointed to investigate the Harper's Ferry

"John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,

SOUTH CAROLINA ITEMS.

The Port Royal correspondent of the Chicago Tribune says :-

REBEL SOLDIERS SHOT I do not remember whether in my last I acquainted you with the fact that several of the soldiers at Fort Walker were shot for refusing to fight, or rather for declaring that they would not fight. This was before our arrival. Two or three are believed to have been shot down by their officers the day of our victory: and during the time they were building the works, an average of fifty men were at work with ball and chain, for attempting to escape. These were the non-slaveholding recruits, called "crack-ers," who were forced into the Southern army; and that the Southern army is full of such, I do not the least doubt. Much must be deducted from the state-ments of the negroes, but not so much in matters of this sort as you may imagine. On all points which could be tried and tested and compared with known facts, they have been strangely truthful. THE CONTRABAND BILLY.

While in occupancy of the Seabrook with our company, during the past week, I had long conversation with "Billy," the body servant of an officer of the Beaufort Guerillas, who were posted on the Island. He is intelligent and smart—a mu-latto. By the way, I bad underrated the general intelligence of the negroes here. Even the field hands have ideas of their own as to how, why and what. They make common cause, and what "Billy" nears read from the newspapers at his master's table becomes common property in the "quarters" with Gumbo and Cuffee, within twenty-four hours. All hints, all expressed mistrust, even hidden fear on the part of whites incautiously exposed, is caught by the watchful ears of men and women who have long looked for an event like the present Even the looks and actions of confident mas translated by the watchful eye of supposed trusty servants, and are promulgated among the "hands."

THE TRUSTY WILLIAM. Talk of "trusty servants who will fight for their masters"! the thing is a monstrous absurdity. If not cast any particular blame upon the South; that it is in their circumstances. All this is right. There is no controversy between you and the tit. right opposite the Seabrook place, and we made visits there, containing three fine plantations, working about 400 slaves.) His trusty negro William, who had driven on Espetango plantation for over thirty years, and whom he had taken with him to in, discouraged him by saving " The Yankees are all around the Island, master, and they will catch you; let me go." William came with full incatch you; let me go." William came with full in-structions in regard to ascertaining our force, and how to proceed, etc., etc., much of which he detailed to me, but Mr. Pinckney has not seen William since. "I am old," said William to me, "but I want to die rather than go back to Master Pinckney."

Set it down once for all, if the negroes only knew way, and that is, by keeping it where the futhers left their strength, we should have no need of Northern

to be ready to die for its promoters.

"Master," said "Billy" to me, not in reply to any question of mine, but of his own accord, "there The italics are mine.

Now you have had all but about half a dozen of the great, wise and influential men, and nearly all the little.

The italics are mine.

Are a great many of the rebel soldiers who will not fire a shot at your troops when you advance upon great, wise and influential men, and nearly all the little.

"Do you think so?" "Why?" "Indeed, great, wise and influential men, and nearly all the little and uninfluential ones, and you have not been able to stop the "natural and necessary" growth of this cause and consequent effect. Not a very high recommendation of your course of treatment.

To illustrate: There is a healthy flow of blood through the system. Something poisonous or antagory work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and work with ball and chain for the same reason, and more down in the black-hole at the Fort, all for that very same reason. Master Scriven and Master Du-pont used to talk about it, and say they were afraid ome of our company wouldn't fight either. The above, somewhat improved into E

The above, somewhat improved into English, is the exact language of one of the intelligent mulat-toes who had ample opportunity to know, and its sentiments are corroborated in every conversation

THE CONTRABANDS IN KANSAS.

We find in one of the most pertinacious of our ro-slavery journals, The World, a letter from a correspondent at Fort Scott, Kansas, containing ome statements respecting the negroes liberated connection with the recent march of Gen. La origade into Missouri, which are so remarkable that we transfer them to our page, as follows:-

"I propose to state the present condition of the 2000 liberated by the march of the Kansas army. gwith slavery, from first to oral wrong, any sin against ists, but where the question was of freedom or slavery for themselves, the negroes failed to make any such distinction; and when they sought our camp You have, in your discourse, well and conclusively they were protected, and no questions were asked as to the political status of their former masters. ilies came in-sometimes three generations in single wagon; sometimes a man and woman came in, leaving all family ties to secure personal liberty, daring untold dangers, enduring fatigue, starvation ed, of which they can complain."

This reminds me of a prayer I heard from the puliteling safe till they knew they were in the Kansas it last summer. The minister, in order to set himself camp. One day, as we marched from Osceola, we saw three men riding at full speed across the prairie As they approached, we saw derer dashed out from the column and raised his Sharp's rifle. 'About face' went the slave-catchers, and a rifle ball sang an ominous warning in

their ears as they made off.

But night is their great time. Sixty came to amp in one evening, and, as Gen. Lane observed, It wasn't much of a night for niggers neither.' We put the able men to work immediately, driving put the able men to work gaged one as a body-servant, instead of taking a soldier from his duty. In this manner they earned

from eight to ten dollars a month.

Parsons Moore, Fisher and Fish, chaplains of the brigade, started last month with a train of negroes, establish them on Kansas farms. After three weeks, these gentlemen returned to headquarters having found comfortable situations for every man, woman and child under their charge. Many were hired as farm hands, house servants. etc., at wages from \$8 to \$12 per month; and the least effective secured places for the winter, where they will be sure of food and clothing, with good chan sure of food and clothing, with good chances for in-crative employment when spring opens. The fugi-tives are generally shrewd and industrious, and the farmers of Kansas gladly avail themselves of this supply of laborers. This is an assertion ntterly at variance with the general impression. It is, never-theless, literally true. In Slavery, one can hardly imagine a more shiftless, indolent being than a Missouri negro. But the change from Slavery to Free liberty comes the necessity for exertion, and effort is born of necessity. The slave who worked care-lessly felt that he had no interest in the result of his labor; no amount of industry would be and he naturally did as little as he could with safety. But when he is a free man, he rise equal to the emergency. This has been wherever my experience has extended. not a man who has been liberated by this brigade himself. In every case we have found the slave fit for freedom

There can be no question, we think, respecting the truth of this writer's report. No doubt these negroes are able to support themselves, nor is there any doubt that freedom will awake in them a desire for industry and its benefits, unknown to them while

CONTRABANDS.

FORTRESS MONROE, January 7, 1862. Every day brings fresh arrivals of the fugitive from bondage. As the enemy withdraws, a portion of his property is destroyed by fires, and thus takes Let it be boldly said," exclaims the Inde-endent, "that the slaves of rebels are the nation's itself legs, and runs off to the Fortress as fast as pendent, "that the slaves of rebels are the nation's freedmen!" We echo the cry, adding that when the nation comes to that point, the rebellion will cease, like the ceasing of a frightful dream.—N. Y. Tribune. [And let all the people say, "Amen!"]

to prefer freedom to slavery! And here, Mr. Editor, let me contradict a report which has appeared in your columns as well as elsewhere, that the contrabands in this region are unwilling to work, and have

many of them run back to their masters.

Both statements, involved in this report, are untrue. The contrabands are, as a general thing, will true. The contrabands are, as a general thing, willing to labor, though complaining much that the forernment does not pay them wages, as they had been
led to expect. But I speak from personal observation when I say they are anxious for any employment reasonably remunerative. My tent door has
been besieged with applications from boys and men,
desiging to be servants. I was over-provided. desiring to be servants. I was over-persuaded, last, to take a contraband youth into my service of as few days, who proved diligent, faithful and indus-trious beyond my expectations. I had engaged another servant for the place, who yesterday arrived another servant for the place, who yesterday arrived, but I have seen enough of this poor African lad to know that some of his race, at least, are skilled, truthful and energetic. On board the U. S. flag-ship Minnesota, there is a boat's crew of contrabands. I was assured by one of the officers the other day, when visiting the frigate, that this crew excelled in fidelity, and was the only one which needed not an officer to accompany them when they went ashore, as not a man of them would get drunk or desert.

As to their returning to rebeldom, it would not have been a matter of surprise if some few of a race proverbially affectionate had returned to their former homes and masters, (no doubt some of them kind ones,) and, above all, to their kindred left be-hind when they fled; but after thorough inquiry, [cannot hear of one such instance, and an assured by those who are in a position to know, that not one such case has occurred. I have been thus particular in this refutation, because here the colored race are being tested as to their desire for freedom and adaptedness to it. The question is one which must and will soon interest the whole nation, and a decision cannot long be postponed .- Correspondent of

CONVERSATION WITH A CONTRABAND AT HIL-TON HEAD. In speaking to Israel yesterday, I am afraid I made him uncomfortable for the rest of the day. Said I-

Do you like stopping here better than on the plantation ?"

plantation?"

"Oh! yes, sir," he said promptly.

"What will you do when the soldiers leave here?" At this question, the look of surprise which passed over Israel's face was irresistibly droll. He finally replied—

"I'd go wi''em!" But suppose they won't let you?" I said.

"Den I jump into de boat!"
"Ah!" I answered, "they might put you out It was evident that no such contingency had pre-

ented itself to his mind before. He simply ejaculated, with great emphasis, as if overwhelmed with and fear at the bare idea-"Christ A'mighty!"

I asked him what he was afraid of, and he replied, If Massa Elliott Garrard catch me, might as well e dead—he kill me, certain." I reassured him of

his safety before we parted .- Correspondence New

\$40 PARKER \$40 Sewing Machines, PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

'HIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of MRIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of lowe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its onstruction is the best combination of the various pants owned and used by these parties, and the patents of he Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially nade Family Machines now in the market.

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere. All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice. Boston, Jan. 18, 1861.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY. Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts

Charitable Mechanic Associati "FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These together with Parker's improvement make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from \$40 to \$120 each. They are very perfect in their mechan being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which itive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great neasure, with the objection sometimes urged on that ac-

PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES have many qualities that ecommend them to use in families. The several parts are inned together, so that it is always adjusted and ready for work, and not liable to get out of repair. It is the best finished, and most firmly and substantially made machine in the Fair. Its motions are all positive, its tension easily adjusted, and it leaves no ridge on the back of the It will hem, fell, stitch, run, bind and gather, and the work cannot be ripped, except designedly. It sews from ommon spools, with silk, linen or cotton, with equal facility. The stitch made upon this machine was recently awarded the first prize at the Tennessee State Fair, for its

superiority .- Boston Traveller.

We would call the attention of our readers to the dvertisement, in another column, of the Parker Sewing dachine. This is a licensed machine, being a combina tion of the various patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, with those of the Parker Sewing Machine Company : consequently, it has the advantage of such machines-first, in being a licensed machine; second, from the fact that it embraces all of the most important improvements which have heretofore been made in Sewing Machines ; third, it requires no readjustment, all the vari. being adjusted by serews, thus avoiding all liability of getting out of order without actually breaking them; and also the necessity of the purchaser learning, as with others, how to regulate all the various motions to the machine The favor with which the Parker Sewing Machine has already been received by the public warrants us in the belief that it is by far the best machine now in market,-South Reading Gazette, Nov. 24, 1860.

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THE PARKER SEWING MACHINE is taking the lead in the market. For beauty and finish of its workmanship, it canot be excelled. It is well and strongly made-streng and utility combined-and is emphatically the cheapest and best machine now made. The ladies are delighted with it, and when consulted, invariably give Parker's machine the preference over all others. We are pleased to learn that ne gentlemanly Agent, George E. Leonard, 188 Washington street, Boston, has a large number of orders for these machines, and sells them as fast as they can be man afactured, notwithstanding the dullness of the times, and while other manufacturers have almost wholly suspended operations. This fact, of itself, speaks more strongly in its favor than any thing we can mention; for were it not for its superior merits, it would have suffered from the general depression, instead of flourishing among the wrecks of its rivals. What we tell you is no fiction ; but go and buy one of them, and you will say that "half of its good quaities had never been told you." Every man who regards the health and happiness of his wife should buy one of these machines to assist her in lessening life's toilsome ask .- Marlboro' Gazette, July 13, 1861.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN M. D. and MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, Acconcheuse HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street Boston, and will devote special attention to the ent of the above diseases

Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M. Boston, Oct. 4, 1861.